POLITICS AND SAINTHOOD: LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF ST MARGARET OF SCOTLAND IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

by

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ABSTRACT

Politics and Sainthood: Literary Representations of St Margaret of Scotland in England and Scotland from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century

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This thesis is a study of the literary representation of St Margaret of Scotland in England and Scotland from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Drawing both on existing developments made towards the understanding of the historical Margaret – and other medieval queens – and on advances in the wider theoretical field of queenship studies and feminist scholarship, it demonstrates the usefulness of reading the textual representation of Margaret as a reflection of contemporary ideas about queens and queenship in England and Scotland across the five centuries it covers. It identifies two key strands in the literary representation of Margaret – Margaret as dynastic mother and Margaret as ideal queen – and reveals how these were used both individually and together on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border. This thesis demonstrates both that Margaret is something of a lightning-rod for ideas of good queenship and Scottish independent sovereignty, and that these ideas exist in symbiosis with her sanctity. This thesis ends with a consideration of how my literary analysis of the textual representation of Margaret might be used as a case-study to further understanding of the literary representations of other medieval queens.

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There are many to whom I owe personal thanks, and no room here to record them all adequately. First and foremost among these, I thank my parents Caroline and Guy Harrill, who raised me to believe that I should follow my dreams (however ill-advised) and that with hard work and determination I could achieve whatever I set my mind to – though I am not sure they anticipated those goals being so focused on medieval literature. I am also deeply grateful to my in-laws Daisy and Richard Littler, who have been immensely supportive throughout this project.

The warmest and most heartfelt of my personal thanks must go to my husband Nick, who is the closest thing I know to a real-life saint, and who has – over the past three years – provided me with every possible kind of support. As a result, he now knows more than he probably ever wanted to about St Margaret of Scotland. He bravely volunteered to proof-read this thesis, so any complaints about grammatical or typographical errors must be forwarded to him.

I am also grateful, though he will never know it, to my silent and furry companion, who sometimes goes by the name of Geoffrey. He has slept on or bitten many of my books, and that has made this process somehow infinitely more doable.

Many times during my research on Margaret, I have been reminded of the matrilineal structures of my own family, and in particular both of my grandmothers. Certainly, they could be counted in the number of 'strong, interfering, pious and persistent women' among whom Linklater counts Margaret. With that in mind, I would like to dedicate this thesis to Margaret Ann Harrill, and to the memory of Judith Marion Newley who, as it happens, was known to her family as Peggy.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

I have used modern standard editions and translations of primary texts wherever possible. Where this was not possible, I have used the best available editions of the texts or consulted the manuscripts directly. I have used my own translations of these and indicated this in the footnotes. Where the editions consulted have used the characters *æ*, *ð* and *þ*, I have preserved these in my text. I have used '7' for the Tironian nota. Similarly, where the editions have made the distinction between *i* and *j* or *u* and *v* in Latin, I have maintained this. In my manuscript transcription, I have used only the *u* and *i* characters, to reflect as closely as possible the text as it appears on the page. I have marked all expansions with brackets.

In quotations from primary material, I have provided the volume (if applicable) and page number in the footnotes for prose, and line numbers in-text for verse.

Translations longer than 10 words – whether my own or from standard editions – have been placed in the footnotes.

ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Sanctorum	*Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata. Seu supplementum apologeticum ad Acta Bollandiana* (Antuerpiae: Apud Bernardum Albertum Vander Plassche, 1755)
ASC	The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
Bruce	John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid and James A.C. Stevenson, 3 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 1980–5)
'Cotton' *Vita*	Margaret's *Vita* as it appears in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius D iii
DMLBS	E. Latham, and D. Howlett (eds), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975–)
DR-LV	Douay-Rheims Latin-Vulgate Bible
Dunf. Reg.	Cosmo Innes ed., *Registrum de Dunfermleyn. Liber Cartarum Abbatie Benedictine S.S.Trinitatis et B. Margarete Regine de Dunfermelyn* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club: 1842)
'Dunfermline' *Vita*	Margaret's *Vita* as it appears in Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097
Dunfermline Manuscript	Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097
Encomium Emmae	Alistair Campbell and Simon Keynes eds., *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)
Genealogia	Ælred of Rievalux, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina 2, vol. 195, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris, 1855)**:** http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:pld&rft_dat=xri:pld:ft:all:Z100095120 accessed 11.05.15
Gesta	R.A.B Mynors, R.M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom eds. and trans., *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
Historia Novorum	Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia, et opuscula duo de vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis ejus*, ed. by Martin Rule (London: Longman, 1884)
Miracula	The *Miracula* of St Margaret of Scotland, in *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland*, ed. and trans. by Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003)
ODNB	The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>

Scotichronicon	D.E.R. Watt et al., eds, *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, 9 vols (Aberdeen and Edinburgh: Aberdeen University Press, 1987–98)
STS	Scottish Text Society
'Tynemouth' *Vita*	Margaret's *Vita* as it appears in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Anglie* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E i
Vita	The *Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ*. Reference to the *Vita* is as it appears in *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collecteana*, ed. by John Hodgson-Hinde, vol. 1 (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society: 1868), pp. 234–54, unless specified otherwise in-text.

CONTENTS

TIMELINE

Early C11th	Margaret's gospel-book is produced in the South of England
*c.*1045x1050	Margaret is born in Hungary
1057	Margaret arrives in England with her family
1058	Start of Malcolm III's reign
1066	Norman Conquest
1067	Margaret arrives in Scotland
1070	Margaret marries Malcolm III 'Canmore'
1080	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* D-version finishes
1093	Margaret dies
1090x1107	Goscelin, *Vita* of Saint Laurence
1100	Henry I marries Matilda of Scotland
1100x1107	Turgot's *Vita* written at the behest of Margaret's daughter Matilda
*c.*1122	Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*
1124	Start of David I's reign
*c.*1125	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*

*c.*1120–1141	Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*
1153–4	Ælred of Rievaulx, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*
1165	Start of William the Lion's reign
1214	Start of Alexander II's reign
1249	Start of Alexander III's reign
1250	Margaret is canonised
1263	Battle of Largs
Post-1263	Margaret's *Miracula* completed at Dunfermline
1290	Margaret, Maid of Norway dies
1292	Edward I appoints John Balliol as King of Scots
1314	Bruce victory at Bannockburn
1320	Declaration of Arbroath
1357–1363	Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*
1371	Robert II crowned first Stewart king
1372–1388	Barbour, *Bruce*
*c.*1408–1420x4	Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*
1440–1447	Bower, *Scotichronicon*

*c.*1455–1461	*Liber Pluscardensis*
1513	Battle of Flodden

Preface: The Life of St Margaret of Scotland

St Margaret of Scotland (*d.*1093), as she is now most commonly known, was many things during her lifetime: an Anglo-Saxon princess in exile, the sister of a failed rebel, a queen of the Scots, a pious ascetic, a stern but loving mother, a charitable patroness and a church reformer.[1] Although many biographies of Margaret have been written, spanning from the years directly following her death to the present day, very little is known for sure about Margaret the woman herself, as distinct from the cult of Saint Margaret. Therefore, I offer this historical preface, which provides a précis of what is known about Margaret's life in the hope that this will give the reader some historical context against which to consider her literary representation.

Margaret was born sometime after 1045 and before 1050, either in Hungary or (possibly, but less likely) Kievan Rus'.[2] Her father, the aptly named Edward the Exile (*d.*1057), was a son of Edmund Ironside (*d.*1016), exiled by Cnut (*d.*1035) on his assumption of the throne, most likely with orders for him to be killed. Quite where Edward the Exile went in Europe, and which kings offered him sanctuary and protection, is unclear. Those who are credited with harbouring him are: King Stephen of Hungary (*d.*1038), Jaroslav, Grand Prince of Kiev (*d.*1054), and the King of Sweden. All that is known of Margaret's mother's identity is her name – Agatha. What is clear from the paucity of information on Agatha, however, is that she was a figure of little importance

[1] This preface draws on biographical information from Catherine Keene's 2013 biography of Margaret, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and Margaret's entry in the *ODNB*, G.W.S. Barrow, 'Margaret [St Margaret] (*d.* 1093)', accessed 30.05.16. Popular biographies of Margaret include: Samuel Cowan, *Life of the Princess Margaret, Queen of Scotland, 1070–1093* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Mawson, Swan & Morgan Limited, 1911); T. Ratcliffe Barnett, *Margaret of Scotland: Queen and Saint; Her Influence on the Early Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926); A.M.D. Henderson-Howat, *Royal Pearl: The Life and Times of Margaret Queen of Scotland* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948); Alan J. Wilson, *St Margaret: Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993 reprinted 2001).

[2] Kievan Rus' covered an area of land surrounding Kiev that is now split between Russia, the Ukraine and Belarus.

to the writers of the texts considered here, and her family ties were of no interest in the negotiation of power and sovereignty between England and Scotland.

Margaret appears to have been raised in the Hungarian court until, in 1057, Edward the Exile was called back to England as a potential successor to the childless Edward the Confessor. But soon after the family arrived back in England, Edward the Exile died, and Margaret's brother Edgar the Ætheling was too young to be considered for the throne.

After the death of Edward the Confessor in 1066 and William of Normandy's subsequent victory at the Battle of Hastings, Margaret and her family appear to have lived harmoniously at the new Norman court for a short time. But before long, either Edgar the Ætheling or the whole family became involved with an anti-Norman plot originating in the North of England and were forced to flee.[3]

Accounts differ as to whether the family were trying to return to Hungary and were blown off-course to Scotland by a storm, or whether they were purposely escaping to Scotland, but the latter seems more likely since no matter what part of England the family departed from, Hungary and Scotland would have been in almost opposite directions, and the former presupposes the appearance of an extremely powerful storm that nonetheless managed to leave all those caught up in it unharmed. There are several reasons that Margaret's family might have thought Scotland the best place to seek refuge: it was close by, and not directly under Norman rule; Margaret's family might also have come into contact with Scotland's king and Margaret's future husband, Malcolm III, while they were at Edward the Confessor's court, since Malcolm had spent time in exile there during Macbeth's reign in Scotland in the 1040s and 1050s.

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[3] See: Nicholas Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Crusader', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), pp. 197–214; Donald Henson, *The English Elite in 1066: Gone but not Forgotten* (Hockwood-cum-Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2001); Pauline Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women: Gendering Conquest in Eleventh-century England', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 208–23.

The family were welcomed in Scotland when they arrived in 1067, and a marriage was arranged between Margaret and Malcolm. As we shall see below, the chronicle sources paint a rather romantic picture of this encounter, claiming that at the first news of Margaret, hearing of her noble birth, beauty and eloquent expression, Malcolm fell deeply in love with her and determined to marry her. It is far more likely that the marriage was arranged for the political advantage it offered to both sides. The marriage did not take place until 1069 or 1070 since there were several obstacles. Not least among them was the fact that Malcolm was already married to a woman named Ingeborg who was either the daughter or the widow of the Lord of Orkney, Thorfinn the Mighty. Little is known of Ingeborg, including how she was removed as obstacle to Malcolm and Margaret's marriage. Perhaps she died, or was divorced by Malcolm – or perhaps there was not really an obstacle since their marriage was only *de more danico*, leaving Malcolm free to marry Margaret according to Christian law.[4] There were, however, additional difficulties; either Margaret herself or her brother Edgar Ætheling was against the marriage. Some historians have assumed that the objections were Margaret's, on account of the fact that she wanted to become a nun. But she would have been between nineteen and twenty-five years old when she married Malcolm, and thus would have been old enough to take nun's vows during her time in England had she wanted to do so, as her sister Christina would later do. Whatever the objection, either Margaret was persuaded by the advantage it would bring to her family, or – as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* suggests – Edgar was intimidated into agreeing to the marriage by Malcolm, and the marriage took place before the end of 1070.

The biography ostensibly written by Margaret's own confessor, Turgot, prior of Durham, paints a very distinctive picture of Margaret as the social and religious reformer of a heathen court, attended by a docile and subservient husband, eager to please her and follow her suggestions in

[4] Marriage *de more danico* was marriage according to Norse customary law, and something like common law marriage, legally recognised but not sacralised through the Church or necessarily exclusive. Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), esp. Part Five, 'Germanic Law: Irregular and Informal Marriage', pp. 101 ff.

every way. As we shall see, Turgot's Margaret is filled with a divine wisdom that far outstrips that of all of the senior members of the Scottish Church, and allows her to persuade them easily to reform Scottish church practice to bring it in line with 'correct' Roman practice. Malcolm is illiterate but doting, kissing Margaret's books and having them decorated for her, though he does not understand them. Turgot's account is likely coloured by its stated audience and purpose – to provide Margaret's daughter, who by the time Turgot wrote Margaret's *Vita* was Queen of England as wife of Henry I, with an example of perfect queenship – and by Turgot's past disagreements with Malcolm.

Turgot's picture of Malcolm is largely unconvincing, given his history of raiding in Northumbria and continually resisting the overlordship of first William the Conqueror, and then his son William Rufus. Margaret does, however, appear to have had at least some hand in reforming the Scottish Church. Certainly, reforms took place during her and Malcolm's rule, aimed at bringing Scottish Church practice into line with that of the Roman Church. It seems likely that this was at least a joint enterprise between King and Queen, since it had a political as well as an ecclesiastical function, preventing William the Conqueror from obtaining papal authority to invade Scotland on the pretext of conversion. Margaret may well have contributed her experience first at the newly Christianised Hungarian court and then at the court of Edward the Confessor, but she was most probably not the sole reformer of a heathen court and country; rather she was a partner in a process of reform and modernisation during her and Malcolm's reign.

Margaret does seem to have been the first proper Queen of Scots (as opposed to king's wife).[5] While it is impossible to determine for certain the extent of Margaret's influence in the court she married into, the contemporary accounts (Turgot's *Vita*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) present her as

[5] Margaret is the first wife of the King of Scots referred to as 'regina' ('queen') in her own time. This title is also applied to Gruoch, the wife of Macbeth, but in later accounts. Margaret was likely the first consecrated Queen of Scots, and her status and position would have reflected her importance as a descendent of the Anglo-Saxon 'Cerdicing' kings. Jessica Nelson, 'Scottish Queenship in the Thirteenth Century', *Thirteenth Century England*, 11 (2005), 61–81 (p. 63).

not just an important political token, but also as an influential queen who left her mark on Scotland. The single testament we have to Margaret's involvement in Scottish Church affairs is a surviving letter from the English Archbishop Lanfranc in which he accepts Margaret's request to act as her spiritual father, and agrees to send a monk from Canterbury to her own monastic foundation, Dunfermline Abbey.[6] In this letter, Lanfranc writes to Margaret warmly and commends the beauty of her Latin expression. This, one of the few pieces of concrete evidence regarding Margaret's life and reign, provides a glimpse of an educated queen, deeply involved in Church affairs, and actively corresponding with churchmen across the Anglo-Scottish border.

Turgot's *Vita* makes much of Margaret's charity, describing how she would feed the poor and how she personally campaigned for English slaves in Scotland to be freed. There is no evidence of this besides Turgot's account, but there is evidence of Margaret's other acts of charitable patronage. Margaret patronised a ferry to take pilgrims to St Andrews and an ascetic's cell in Iona. All of the evidence therefore suggests Margaret's investment in religious life in Scotland, but it would be wrong to assume that this was apolitical, or that Margaret's actions had no impact on political relations between England and Scotland.

As well as the Church reform she may have had a hand in, Margaret shaped the future of Scotland through her children. Margaret had eight children with Malcolm that survived into adulthood: Edward (*d.*1093), Edmund (*d.*post-1097), Æthelred (Abbot of Dunkeld, dates unknown), Edgar (King of Scots, *d.*1107), Alexander I (King of Scots, *d.*1124), David I (King of Scots, *d.*1153), Edith (later Matilda, Queen of England *d.*1118) and Mary (*d.*1116). Her line continued on the Scottish throne until the death of Margaret, Maid of Norway in 1290, and the religious and social reforms begun in her and Malcolm's reign were continued by their son David I. Through Margaret, the Scottish royal line had a claim to the English throne, and a strong

[6] *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), Letter 50, pp. 160–3. For discussion of this letter see Chapter 1, pp. 60ff.

position on the wider European political stage. A testament to Margaret's enduring dynastic influence is the number of Scottish princesses and queens named Margaret following her reign.

Malcolm and Margaret reigned over a relatively peaceful and unified Scotland for more than twenty-three years until their deaths, within days of one another, in 1093. Malcolm was raiding in Northumbria with their eldest son when he was betrayed by a previous ally, Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumbria (*d.*1115/1125), and killed. In the ensuing battle, their eldest son was also killed. Upon hearing the news, Margaret, weakened by years of childbearing and extreme fasting, died, leaving their eldest surviving son Edgar to compete with Malcolm's brother Donald for the throne. She was buried at Dunfermline Abbey where, it appears, she was venerated as a saint almost from the time of her death. She was officially canonised in 1250 by Pope Innocent IV.

From the little that is known of Margaret's life, a striking portrait emerges of an influential woman and successful queen who was a partner in a rule that transformed Scotland to meet the demands of the eleventh- and twelfth-century European political stage. She had eight children, four of whom went on to be kings or queens in their own right, and the two most influential – her son, the future David I of Scotland, and her daughter Edith/Matilda, Queen of England – consciously modelled their behaviour on accounts of their mother's life. Margaret was popularly regarded as a saint, and was certainly regarded as a model queen from that time onwards. The actions of her life, however shrouded they now are in hagiographical tradition, national interest and chronicle convention, suggest a pious and diligent queen of not inconsiderable political interest, and provide a suggestive beginning for study of how that life was reconceptualised and refigured in the years of literature to come.

Image of St Margaret of Scotland reading.

Blackadder Prayerbook, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 10271, fol. 101r.

Introduction

> Responditque regina, 'Ego sum Margarita, Scotorum regina […] ad Largys regnum defensura propero […] Nam michi hoc regnum a Deo accepi commendatum et heredibus meis inperpetuum.'[1]

St Margaret of Scotland (*d.*1093) is now mainly known as a national saint of Scotland and is often (as throughout the medieval period) confused with her namesake, the dragon-slaying virgin martyr St Margaret of Antioch.[2] St Margaret – or Queen Margaret, as she was known in her lifetime – also survives in the modern consciousness as dedicatee of Catholic churches, schools and hospitals, the University of Glasgow (previously women's) Students' Union, and the Queen Margaret of Scotland Girls' School Association, without any immediate relevance or value as an icon of national identity, or as a symbol for a particular political cause.

This was far from the case in the medieval period, when Margaret – as Anglo-Saxon princess and Queen of Scots – remained a powerful political symbol for over 400 years, even as she receded from actual player on the political stage to ancestor-queen and national saint. As late as 1513, the Scottish army carried banners bearing images of St Margaret at the Battle of Flodden, a powerful

[1] 'The queen replied, 'I am Margaret, queen of Scots […] I am hurrying […] to Largs [to defend the kingdom …] For I have accepted this kingdom from God, and it is entrusted to me and my heirs forever." *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland*, ed. and trans. by Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. 88–9.

[2] St Margaret of Antioch, sometimes called St Marina, was an early fourth century virgin martyr, known for bursting from the belly of a dragon and adopted as the patron saint of childbirth, among other things. She was a popular saint across Europe. Evidence for her veneration in Scotland is borne out by her inclusion in the late fourteenth-century *Scottish Legendary*. See: Eva von Contzen, *The Scottish Legendary: Towards a Poetics of Hagiographic Narration* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Melissa M. Coll-Smith, 'The *Scottish Legendary* and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval Scotland' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2011); *Legends of the Saints: in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by W.M. Metcalfe, 3 vols (in 6 parts), STS, 1st ser., 13, 18, 23, 25, 35, 37 (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood, 1888–96). Saint Margaret's Legend is in volume 2, pp. 47–68.

testament to her enduring political significance and to the enduring faith of others in her intercessory powers as a saint able to act in defence of Scotland.[3]

Her foreign birth notwithstanding, Margaret is significant in both the secular and spiritual life of Scotland as the only officially canonised Scottish saint, the only Scottish female saint, the only Scottish royal saint, and the dynastic mother of a long line of kings from whom both Scottish and English monarchs drew legitimacy into the seventeenth century and beyond.[4] The Anglo-Saxon royal line – the line from which Margaret was descended on her father's side – featured many royal saints, the most famous being Margaret's uncle Edward the Confessor. Ælred of Rievaulx wrote a *Vita* for Margaret's son David I, but Margaret is the only Scottish royal saint for whom we have any evidence of veneration.[5] Her foundation, Dunfermline Abbey, became a royal mausoleum and was the burial-place of seven Scottish kings, ending with Robert the Bruce.[6]

As the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal line, Margaret was a powerful legitimating tool through whom future generations of Scottish kings had a claim to the English throne. From the fourteenth century, she came to be represented as a founding mother in parallel with Scotland's mythic founder, Scota, the Egyptian princess who supposedly gave the people and the land her

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[3] The only other figure represented on banners at Flodden was St Andrew, who also had a reputation as a military intercessor on behalf of an independent Scotland. Tom Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 34.

[4] Margaret's nationality, and the description thereof, has always been a vexed issue, in the medieval period and modern scholarship alike. All we know for certain is that Margaret's father was Anglo-Saxon and she was raised in Hungary. For this reason I refer to Margaret as of Anglo-Saxon/Hungarian origin throughout this thesis, though contemporary English accounts seem to have understood her as purely Anglo-Saxon, and later Scottish accounts focus only on her role as Scottish queen. Catherine Keene in her biography *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) goes into some depth on Margaret's 'unknowable lineage' (pp. 9–17), which I also outline in my preface to this thesis. See also Rene Jette, 'Is the Mystery of the Origin of Agatha, Wife of Edward the Exile, Finally Solved?', *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 150 (1996), pp. 417–32, *passim*.

[5] A *Miracula* for Margaret survives, and a monk from Durham called Reginald reports seeing crowds of people at St Margaret's tomb. See Bartlett, *Miracles*, pp. xlv–vi.

[6] Malcolm III, Edgar, Alexander I, David I, Malcolm IV, Alexander III, Robert I.

name.[7] Margaret's significance was long-lasting and wide-ranging in both the political and religious spheres. Her reign as Queen of Scots cemented Scotland's place on the European political stage as she supposedly reformed the Scottish Church, was mother to a great dynasty of Scottish kings, and provided an example of ideal queenship.

In this thesis I establish the role St Margaret of Scotland played in English and Scottish literary texts from her own time, the eleventh century, to the fifteenth century. The literary representation of Margaret is formed from two interwoven strands: that of queenship, and that of sainthood. Since there is relatively little surviving material on Margaret, I aim to be as comprehensive as possible and cover every English and Scottish literary text known to me in which Margaret is represented, in both Latin and the vernacular, throughout the five centuries that this thesis comprises. In all of these texts, the qualities of sainthood and ideal queenship are inextricably intertwined, with only very early material – that potentially written in Margaret's own lifetime, such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* – considering Margaret solely as a queen. There is no text that considers Margaret as a saint alone.

Margaret appears in a wide range of texts across these five centuries. To complement the subsequent study of Margaret as a figure within literary texts, I begin by considering her as a reader and writer in her own right. I address the texts which Margaret supposedly read or owned: that is, the eleventh-century gospel-book (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 5) known as 'St Margaret's Gospel-book'; the eleventh-century psalter known as the 'Celtic Psalter' (now Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Library, MS 56); and finally the surviving letter from

[7] The Scottish myth of origin relates how Gaythelos, a Greek prince, and his Egyptian wife Scota (supposedly the Egyptian princess who rescued Moses from the river) founded Scotland, and Scota gave the people her name. For further discussion of this see Emily Wingfield, *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 9–10. Dauvit Broun has suggested that this myth is, in fact, Irish in origin; see *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), p. 12.

Archbishop Lanfranc to Margaret. The second chapter provides a detailed close-reading of the near-contemporary *Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ* (1100x1107), which claims to be an eyewitness account of Margaret's life written by her confessor. The third chapter covers the early English chronicles (in both Latin and Old English) in which Margaret appears. These are: the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (finished late eleventh century); William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (*c.*1125); Ælred of Rievaulx's *Genealogica Regum Anglorum* (1153–4); Eadmer's *Historia Novum in Anglia* (*c.*1122); and Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History* (1142). This chapter will also consider Goscelin of St Bertin's *Vita* of St Laurence (late eleventh century); even though this is not a chronicle source, it is the only Margaret-text, besides the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* account, that might have been written in her lifetime. Chapter 4 covers the mid-thirteenth century 'Dunfermline' compilation (now Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097), and the final chapter examines the Older Scots chronicles, which include two Latin chronicles – John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (*c.*1363) and Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (*c.*1440–1447) – and Andrew of Wyntoun's vernacular *Original Chronicle* (*c.*1408–1420x4).

In this thesis I will demonstrate how Margaret came to be a model of ideal queenship in the years following her death in 1093, and how her literary representation then evolved into her later incarnation as Scottish patron saint. I will consider how and why Margaret's literary representation differed across the Anglo-Scottish border in order to reveal how Margaret became a powerful and important touchstone for ideas not just of state and nation, but also of queenship and – more widely – the role of women. Margaret's evolving representation as ideal queen also has an advisory function, not just to queens but to rulers in general. I will reveal how this

developed on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border and I will relate it to the signal Older Scots 'advice to princes' tradition.[8]

This thesis is the first to consider the representation of Margaret across the entire medieval period, from Margaret's own time – the eleventh century – to the end of the fifteenth century, and to combine sources from both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border, bringing into consideration differences between the North and South of England. This original reading of the evolving textual Margaret thus provides a new and unique perspective on not just Margaret herself, but the political agenda for which she is deployed by various writers. Although recent scholarly biographical work into Margaret has been undertaken and the field of queenship studies has grown in recent years, the focus has been almost entirely historical rather than literary, and even this renewed historical interest in queens and queenship has largely developed since 1980.[9] My thesis combines literary study, historiography and book history to reveal not just the larger patterns in the literary representations of St Margaret of Scotland, but also the political anxieties – from the domestic to the international – which these reflect and illuminate.

Methodology and Scholarship

St Margaret of Scotland

Although Margaret has been subject to some critical attention as part of wider studies on medieval Scottish queens, as in Rosalind Marshall's *Scottish Queens* and Fiona Downie's *She is But a Woman*, and as part of wider studies on Scottish saints such as the edited collection *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, she has been little studied in her own right and often dismissed as of only 'Scottish' interest, or as a very early queen about whom little can be

[8] Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature 1450–1500' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 1986).
[9] Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 5.

known.[10] Until 2013, with the publication of Catherine Keene's critical biography of Margaret, there had not even been a scholarly book-length study of Margaret.[11]

Keene's monograph covers Margaret's life, from her lineage and her childhood to her time as Queen of Scots and her death; she reconstructs the historical Margaret from hagiographic and fragmentary accounts up to the thirteenth century. Her biography deals with Margaret's lineage – her status as member of the displaced Anglo-Saxon royal line, and the unknown lineage of her mother Agatha – her education, potential influences from the Hungarian court in which she grew up – especially in terms of models of sanctity – and then her time as queen, her representation in the Dunfermline version of Turgot's *Vita*, her influence on her children David and Matilda, and finally the establishment of her cult.[12] Keene identifies the main issue with historical studies of Margaret up to this point: either her *Vita* has been accepted without question, or historians have largely dismissed Margaret's political significance on the basis that she was a woman and could not, therefore, have accomplished anything meaningful in the political sphere.[13] Keene provides a fully contextual account of Margaret's life that brings to bear

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[10] Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland, 1424–1463* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 2006); Rosalind K. Marshall, *Scottish Queens, 1034–1714* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), pp. 1–14; *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, ed. by Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), passim. Alan Macquarrie also includes St Margaret in his monograph *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History: AD 450–1093* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), pp. 211–29, but this is now quite dated.

[11] Keene, *Saint Margaret*. Popular histories include: Samuel Cowan, *Life of the Princess Margaret, Queen of Scotland, 1070–1093* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Mawson, Swan & Morgan Limited, 1911); T. Ratcliffe Barnett, *Margaret of Scotland: Queen and Saint; Her Influence on the Early Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926); A.M.D. Henderson-Howat, *Royal Pearl: The Life and Times of Margaret Queen of Scotland* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948); Alan J. Wilson, *St Margaret: Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993 reprinted 2001).

[12] For a full discussion of the Dunfermline version of Margaret's *Vita*, see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[13] Keene, *Saint Margaret*, p. 1. Macquarrie's attitude to Margaret in particular is dismissive. Of Margaret's presence at church councils, as reported by Turgot, Macquarrie claims that 'Margaret is portrayed almost as an imperious bully, delivering a 'Sermon on the Mound [*sic*]' worthy of a twentieth-century politician with a handbag' (*Saints of Scotland*, p. 214). One might wonder how Macquarrie's characterisation of Margaret would differ if Turgot had represented a man in authority, using Scripture to argue for his point. Indeed, Margaret's gender is one of the main bases on which Macquarrie dismisses any possible influence she might have had: 'Margaret, for all the strength of her personality, and for all of King Malcolm's affectionate support, was a political exile, a foreigner, a member of a dispossessed dynasty which was

a wealth of historical material in an attempt to fill the gaps in the life of a woman about whom very little is known. Keene also introduces the concept of 'hagiographical truth' in her approach to Margaret's *Vita*: the idea that miraculous stories of Margaret – especially the loss and divine recovery of her book – would have been understood as 'true' insofar as they reflected an essential truth rather than actual fact.[14] This concept will be very important to my study of literary representation of Margaret, as it offers the possibility that Margaret's saintly actions might reflect an underlying political (as well as personal and/or spiritual) truth.

However, Keene's monograph is more than anything a biography, and thus the focus is historical and historiographical rather than literary. Keene brings together evidence from Hungarian saints' lives such as the early *Vita* of St Stephen in order to consider how Margaret's upbringing might have influenced her later life, but does not consider the literary influence of earlier hagiography on Margaret's (ultimately literary) representation in her *Vita*.[15] Likewise, she goes on to suggest that Margaret patterned her life after other contemporary saintly queens such as Gisela (*d.*1060), Anastasia (*d.*1074x1096) and Edith (*d.*1075), but does not consider how the preceding and contemporary literary climate might have influenced Margaret's biographer as well as or instead of Margaret herself.[16] Her study is focused on recovering possible details of Margaret's life from the texts that were written about her. Recovering a historical Margaret will not be the focus of this thesis; instead, I will bring together all of the surviving written accounts of St Margaret of Scotland in order to consider what role she plays within these literary texts, taking into account what literary conventions, traditions and backgrounds might have shaped these representations, and what political interests (stated or unstated) might be behind each particular version of

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entirely dependent on the generosity of the Scottish court, and a woman: all of these factors seriously limited her power and influence', p. 223. While I am not attempting to recover a historical Margaret in this thesis, given her consistent representation as influential and authoritative, if not powerful, it seems unwise to dismiss Margaret's power and influence altogether as limited and dependent.

[14] Keene, *Saint Margaret*, p. 4.

[15] Keene, *Saint Margaret*, p. 19.

[16] Keene, *Saint Margaret*, p. 59.

Margaret as she appears on the page. Keene's book has provided a firm biographical basis for such a study, but this thesis will consider more deeply the textual (and on occasion visual) representation of Margaret – the literary Margaret that changes over time – rather than attempting to recover the life of a historical figure.

Of the shorter studies of St Margaret of Scotland, Lois Huneycutt's 1989 article 'The Idea of the Perfect Princess: The *Life of St. Margaret* in the Reign of Matilda II (1100–1118)' and Derek Baker's 1978 article '"A Nursery of Saints": St. Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered' are the most significant.[17] In her article, Huneycutt suggests that Margaret plays an advisory role for her daughter, Matilda, within Turgot's *Vita*. I will expand upon this argument and consider the role Margaret plays as an exemplary queen across the texts in which she appears in order to reveal wider patterns of ideal female (in general) and queenly (in particular) behaviour in the periods covered by this thesis. Baker's article is limited to the consideration of Margaret as an influential mother to her children, and only considers Margaret's literacy as a function of her piety. As I will show over the course of this thesis, this was not the case; rather, representation of Margaret as learned and bookish goes beyond a symbolic devotion to the Word of God.

Queens and Queenship

More widely, my thesis is informed by scholarship on both queenship and sanctity in medieval Europe. The study of queens and queenship is a relatively new field. Serious academic study into queens and their roles only began in the 1960s, but even then tended only to focus on them as the moral foils to kings.[18] Only from the late seventies has there been work on the 'institutions and workings' of queenship, most notably: John Carmi Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*; Theresa

[17] Lois L. Huneycutt, 'The Idea of the Perfect Princess: the *Life of St Margaret* in the Reign of Matilda II (1100–1118)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 12 (1989), pp. 81–97; Derek Baker, '"A Nursery of Saints": St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 119–41.
[18] John Carmi Parsons, *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud: Sutton 1994), p.1.

Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*; and Anne Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*.[19] Latterly, queenship studies has gathered steam, with several excellent studies of both English and Scottish queens being published in the last twenty-five years, most notably Fiona Downie's *She is But a Woman* and Rosalind K. Marshall's *Scottish Queens* – both historical studies concerned with Scottish queens – Pauline Stafford's *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, which studies these two early English queens, the models against which their rules were measured and the steps they took to intervene in their own reputations and representations, and Lois Huneycutt's *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship*.[20]

A thorough understanding of both medieval and modern attitudes towards queens and queenship is essential to understanding how Margaret's literary representation is filtered through ideas of gender, power and royal legitimacy. Historically, queens' voices have been largely suppressed in everything apart from official charters, and few of these from the early medieval period survive.[21] Historiographically, '[b]ecause women were not seen as suitable subjects for serious historical study, queens were portrayed as sentimental, passionate and often ill-fated Great Women married to Great Men, or doing unexpected things'.[22] The rise of feminist scholarship and the new interest in queens and queenship as a serious area of study in recent years has begun to uncover more about these much-stereotyped women. The study of queens and queenship is made more challenging by the fact that, even more so than kings, queens

[19] Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, p.1; Earenfight, *Queenship*; *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997).
[20] Downie, *But a Woman*; Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997; paperback 2001); Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003). There have also been valuable studies of individual Scottish queens, most notably Pamela E. Ritchie's *Mary of Guise in Scotland 1548–1560: A Political Career* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), which examines for the first time the political propaganda circulated against Mary of Guise and how this affected her historical perception, and, among numerous studies of Mary Queen of Scots, Antonia Fraser, *Mary, Queen of Scots* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969 reprinted London: Phoenix, 2003). Earlier Scottish queens have received markedly less individual interest.
[21] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 4.
[22] Earenfight, *Queenship*, p. 4.

tended to be represented as either perfect or terrible in clerical accounts of them written after their deaths, and either held up as models of ideal behaviour or vilified as examples of wicked behaviour.[23] Margaret falls firmly into the former camp, the only negative judgement made of her over her whole literary representation being Turgot's suggestion that perhaps her fasting was a little too ascetic for her own good. Margaret's daughter Matilda also benefits from a glowing posthumous reputation, despite evidence in letters between her and Archbishop Anselm that she taxed churches heavily during her lifetime.[24]

In considering Margaret's literary representation, I will also take into account ideas about female power and authority in the Middle Ages. Downie makes the important distinction between power and influence. Queens might have had little real power in the medieval world, but they had access to influence, especially within the family, and had means by which they could hope to achieve their personal or political goals, even if these are not readily evident according to our modern understanding of power and authority.[25] Downie writes that, '[e]xcluded from authority and mistrusted in public action, women could not seek power in the same way as men but could exercise power through them'.[26] This is indeed widely true of medieval queens, but as an Anglo-Saxon princess in a Scottish court, and as a Roman-church-raised queen reforming a nation of Scottish Christians worshipping according to the papally-unsanctioned church of St Columba, Margaret's literary representation tells a very different story. It is, to a greater and lesser extent in different versions, a story of active and assertive queenship, sanctioned variously by her noble heritage as the last heir of the Cerdicing kings and her piety and spiritual superiority. Margaret, whatever the facts of her life, is almost unanimously depicted as powerful – rather than just

[23] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 18.
[24] Matilda did not intervene to lift heavy taxes on the church, despite being urged by Anselm to intercede on the church's behalf. Lois L. Huneycutt, 'Matilda', *ODNB*, accessed 28.07.16. See also *The Letters of St Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. by Walter Fröhlich, vol. 3 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1994), esp. Letter 346, pp. 75–6.
[25] Downie, *But a Woman*, p. 3.
[26] Downie, *But a Woman*, p. 4.

influential – across the literary texts examined in this thesis.[27] In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Margaret dispenses treasure and advice like a wise king from an Old English poem; in Turgot's *Vita*, she single-handedly reforms the Scottish court and brings a heathen, illiterate Malcolm III to correct pious, Christian practice; in the Dunfermline manuscript, she is a powerful saint-queen, healing the sick, defending the nation and protecting her divinely-appointed heirs on the Scottish throne. Only in the later Older Scots chronicles is Margaret's power circumscribed by male secular authority. For the most part, though Margaret works under the male authority of God, she remains unchecked by worldly male authority in literary representations of her life.

Two key avenues through which influence and authority could be obtained were consecration and deliberate analogy with the Virgin Mary, both of which Pauline Stafford discusses in her 2001 monograph *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England*. Stafford makes the distinction between a consecrated queen and the wife of a king; this difference is crucial to the study of Margaret since she appears to have been the first consecrated Queen of Scotland.[28] Certainly, she was the first to be referred to as 'regina' ('queen') rather than as the King's wife in contemporary accounts.[29] This distinction is a powerful one since it both marks Margaret as a politically significant figure in her own right, rather than simply a royal bedmate, and establishes the position of Queens of Scots as equal to that of the consecrated queens of England and continental Europe.

Furthermore, comparison with the Virgin Mary offered another avenue of influence both for queens and for those who wanted to use posthumous representation of them for political effect. Ideals of queenship in the early medieval period were patterned after the example of the Virgin

[27] The single instance in which she is not is in the Laurencekirk foundation legend, potentially the earliest literary representation of Margaret. See Chapter 3, p. 161.
[28] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. ix.
[29] Jessica Nelson, 'Scottish Queenship in the Thirteenth Century', *Thirteenth Century England*, 11 (2005), 61–81 (p. 63).

Mary, with the titles attached to queens often echoing the Virgin Mary's various roles: 'domina', 'regina', 'conlaterana regis', 'regis mater'.[30] As one might expect, when the model is the unassailable Virgin Mary, queens were often measured against this standard and found wanting. When the example is one half of the well-documented Madonna/Whore dichotomy, those who fail to live up to the former example necessarily fall into the latter. And, like the Virgin Mary, a queen's power, influence and importance were all dependent on and mediated through her role within the family.[31] Alongside this, the rise of the early medieval saint-queen offered women a model of power and influence supported by God and Church in which they did not have to deny the world or live a life of asceticism and chastity.[32] These women's lives held up a 'Christian mirror' to queens for whom models of virtuous behaviour did not exclude the exercise of royal power.[33] But neither did the model require queens to abjure all things worldly; it was very much one that served to legitimise the ruling males, and provide dynastic support.[34] Literary representation of Margaret encompasses these roles, but yet another layer appears in later texts when she comes to take on an originary role as mother of a new dynasty that combines the Anglo-Saxon and Scottish royal lines. This is a role unique to Margaret, and usually reserved for mythic figures like Scota.

Stafford chooses not to include Margaret's daughter Matilda in her study partially on the basis that she did not undertake the same kind of reputation-shaping patronage that Emma and Edith did.[35] However, I propose that in fact Matilda's commissioning of Turgot's *Vita* of St Margaret funtions in rather the same way that the *Vita Ædwardi* acted for Edith and the *Encomium Emmae*

[30] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 56.
[31] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 61.
[32] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 169.
[33] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 170.
[34] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 179.
[35] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. viii.

acted for Emma.[36] Margaret's usefulness as a literary figure was manifold because of her status as both queen and saint; she was an example to women, rulers, and pious laypeople. She was also an important political and genealogical symbol, linking Scottish sovereignty to divine approval, and expressing the God-ordained legitimacy of the royal line that followed her. Much of this was done through the literary text – the *Vita* – that her daughter Matilda ostensibly commissioned, and it would be wrong indeed to discount what Matilda might have stood to gain or hoped to achieve through this representation of the mother who – in life – she had barely known.[37] Margaret is almost unilaterally held up as a model of perfect queenship in the texts examined by this thesis, and the majority of these use the *Vita* commissioned by her daughter as a source. Her sainthood in these accounts is both literal and symbolic; though a spiritual role, it acts as shorthand and metaphor for her perfection as worldly queen.

The consistent representation of Margaret as ideal queen can tell us much about ideas of medieval queenship, and indeed the extent to which real power might be available to queens if they adhered to models of good queenship. Margaret, though a woman, is represented in Turgot's *Vita* as instructing her heathen husband not only in how to read, but also in how to order Church affairs in his own country. She acts well within the bounds of accepted models of queenship – most notably St Helena and the Virgin Mary – thereby allowing her to challenge accepted medieval gender-politics that placed the husband as the head of the household. These domestic politics extend into the international: a queen was conspicuous as (usually) a foreigner, and suspicion of her influence over the king was not just based on her sex, but also on her foreignness.[38] However, in these English-authored texts, it is Malcolm and his court who are foreign. Thus, Margaret's representation as ideal queen holds significance on every political level,

[36] The *Encomium Emmae* is a laudatory account of the marriage of Emma and Cnut commissioned by Emma herself and written between 1040 and 1041. The *Vita Ædwardi* is a hagiography of Edward the Confessor, commissioned by his wife Edith *c.*1067. For further discussion see Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[37] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 89.
[38] Parsons, *Queenship*, p. 6.

from the gender-politics of the home to the internal political conflict between Church and Crown in Scotland, and the international tensions between England and Scotland.

Her literary representation reveals the potent combination of significances that converged on the medieval queen, and my investigation of these has much to tell us about how these political issues were worked out in the literature of the Middle Ages. As queen and saint, Margaret falls firmly into this nexus of political duty, family obligation, and the kind of humble virtue coupled with divine authority that was particular to the Virgin Mary. Over the course of this thesis, I will reveal how these models and expectations – the tendency to stereotype that Stafford speaks of – operate in different literary representations of Margaret. It is through this lens that I will examine what the differing literary representations might tell us about attitudes towards women, female saints, queens, and Scottish national interests. We might be able to determine very little about the historical Margaret, but the models that she (or her biographer) chose to follow can tell us much about the expectations of queenship.

Saints and Sainthood

The study of medieval saints has been more wide-ranging and long-standing than the study of medieval queenship, and the study of Scottish saints in particular has experienced a recent rejuvenation, with Melissa Coll-Smith's 2011 DPhil thesis, 'The *Scottish Legendary* and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval Scotland', *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, edited by Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson in 2010, Tom Turpie's monograph *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* in 2015, and Eva von Contzen's monograph *The Scottish Legendary: Towards a poetics of hagiographic narration* in 2016.[39]

[39] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives'; *Cult of Saints*, ed. by Boardman and Williamson; Turpie, *Kind Neighbours*; von Contzen, *Scottish Legendary*.

Coll-Smith's thesis underlines the ubiquity of saints as 'pop culture heroes and icons', and highlights how this made them popular and powerful material for the discussion of all aspects of life.[40] Saints' lives are about not just piety and spirituality, but also 'politics, economics, social control, gender and sexuality, and […] what their authors have to say on these topics is intended to be relevant to, and sometimes critical of, contemporary life'.[41] As such, the study of female saints is a fertile field for understanding ideas of the roles available to medieval women, and the models offered for their behaviour. Just as female saints were usually confined to the roles of virgin martyr, or practitioners of either ascetic feats or extensive acts of charity, while male saints had many more routes to sanctity open to them, medieval women were offered only a very limited set of textual models for behaviour, and even fewer of these were models of good behaviour.[42]

Coll-Smith also touches on Margaret in her study of the *Scottish Legendary*.[43] Margaret's shifting image and multivalent political significance meant that '[b]etween the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, audiences in both countries [Scotland and England] embraced progressively different images of the saint in response to varied perceptions of the queen as a model of noble conduct, a political and dynastic figurehead, and the object of cultic devotion'.[44] Coll-Smith acknowledges that Margaret became an important tool in the competing national propaganda of England and

[40] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 4.
[41] Karen A. Winstead, 'Saintly Exemplarity', in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature*: *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 335–51, (p. 336).
[42] 'Introduction', in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Samantha J.E. Riches and Sarah Salih (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 1–8, (p. 5). Riches and Salih designate this kind of sainthood as 'androgynous', but Caroline Walker Bynum calls it 'feminine' sanctity: Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 26.
[43] The *Scottish Legendary* is a collection of 50 vernacular saints' lives written in octosyllabic couplets translated from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (*c.*1390). The *Scottish Legendary* includes the *Vita* of St Margaret of Antioch, but not that of St Margaret of Scotland. See fn. 2, above.
[44] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 68.

Scotland, particularly in the account of her supposed confessor, Turgot.[45] Margaret's enduring significance as model queen, mother, and dynastic progenitor is indeed attested to by the survival of the 1661 *Idaea of the Perfect Princesse*, a version of the early twelfth-century *Life* of Margaret, used in part to support Charles II, providing a model for female behaviour.[46]

Elsewhere Boardman and Williamson emphasise the localised nature of saints' cults. They tended to be associated with prominent church centres and to have a strong local significance.[47] So, although in this thesis I consider Scotland generally, and Margaret's significance as a political icon throughout both England and Scotland, it is important to emphasise at this point that devotion to Margaret the saint was consistently and heavily focused around Dunfermline Abbey. Although Margaret was patron of the Queensferry and of an ascetic's cell in Iona, her relics rested and her cult centered in Dunfermline. There are some records of James IV apportioning funds to celebrate her feast in the chapel built by her son David I in Edinburgh Castle, and later Scottish queens sometimes requested Margaret's sark at the birth of their children as a kind of saintly good-luck token, but popular devotion to Margaret appears to have been limited to her tomb and shrine.[48]

As with queenship, female sainthood is never very far from the icon of the Virgin Mary. Margaret is repeatedly visually represented in a manner that recalls the Virgin Mary. In the late fifteenth-century Blackadder Prayerbook pictured on page 7 of this thesis (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 10271, fol. 101r) Margaret appears dressed in white and blue, crowned

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45 Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 80.

46 London, British Library, *The idæa of a Perfect Princesse, in the life of St M. Queen of Scotland. With elogiums on her children, David, and Mathilda Queen of England. Written originally in French, and now Englished [by J. R.]. Whereunto is annexed a postscript ... proving ... his Majesties just right and title to the Crown of England* (Paris, 1661). See Chapter 2, p. 79.

47 Turpie, *Kind Neighbours*, passim; *Cult of Saints*, ed. by Boardman and Williamson, p. 4. Boardman and Williamson link this specifically to the production of Latin *vitae*.

48 Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland, University of Edinburgh, online <http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/saints/> accessed 08.12.15.

and haloed. Her posture as she thoughtfully reads recalls imagery of the Virgin, already established by the blue-and-white colour scheme and the royal clothes that Margaret wears. Similarly, on the 1529 Queensferry seal Margaret also appears haloed and crowned. She stands on a curved boat, holding both her gospel-book and a sceptre topped with a fleur-de-lys. This image echoes the popular image of the Virgin Mary standing on a crescent moon.[49] St Bridget of Sweden is the other female saint who is frequently represented crowned and holding a book, though St Bridget is a later saint (*d.*1373) and is more commonly depicted writing, rather than reading.[50] Margaret is also unusual among saints in general in being represented like the Virgin Mary; other saints are commonly represented with their icons – for example, St Margaret of Antioch with the dragon – but Margaret of Scotland, like the Virgin Mary, is represented as a pious mother and frequently represented crowned and reading or holding a book.[51]

Just as the Virgin Mary offered an attractive model for queenship, she also offers an attractive model for sainthood. A mother and a queen like Margaret, she provided Margaret's hagiographers and biographers with a model that combined queenly dignity and regal power with virtuous spirituality. Analogy with the Virgin Mary allowed Margaret to be venerated and ennobled without undermining the patriarchal authority of the Church or the Crown. The Queen of Heaven's qualities as dispenser of mercy and intercession, her role as loving mother and her qualities of humbleness and obedience all provided a valuable analogue for Margaret's life. Margaret's congruence with the Virgin Mary model allowed her hagiographer to represent Margaret as influential and authoritative in the world while also emphasising the divine male authority of God under which she acted. Mary's care for her son was transferred to and reflected

[49] Audrey-Beth Fitch, 'Mothers and Their Sons: Mary and Jesus in Scotland, 1450–1560', in *Cult of Saints*, pp. 159–76, (p. 160).
[50] Lesley Smith, '*Scriba, Femina*: Medieval Depictions of Women Writing', in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (London: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 21–44, (p. 26).
[51] I discuss this more fully in Chapter 1.

in representation of Margaret as an ideal mother; as Fitch notes, '[a]s an archetypal mother, Mary was assigned certain maternal traits. Scottish evidence characterises her as pious, nurturing, compassionate, forgiving, protective, and mediating'.[52] Such maternal traits are reflected in Margaret's spiritual care for her children, even if the textual image of her disciplining them with the rod in Turgot's *Vita* might be strongly at odds with our modern ideas of loving parenthood.

The pervasive nature of saints as part of the cultural consciousness in the medieval world, the strongly localised nature of devotion to saints, and the model of the Virgin Mary for queen-saints and mother-saints are all essential components for understanding how Margaret appears in the literary texts I examine in this thesis. The representation of Margaret as an ideal mother also ennobled the royal descendants that followed her; David I made extensive use of his mother's saintly reputation before she was even officially canonised, calling for her Black Rood on his deathbed, and encouraging his friend Ælred of Rievaulx (1110–1167) to praise her in his genealogy.[53] Margaret's popular reputation as a pious and virtuous – if not saintly – queen, and then her official canonisation in 1250, was put to political use on both sides of the border. In the years directly following Margaret's death, it mainly served to support her children in their struggle for the Scottish throne and Matilda's contested place as Queen of England, but in the years that followed, the concerns became more wide-ranging. The evolution of the textual representation of Margaret reflects the changing shape of Anglo-Scottish relations across these centuries, but also works to shape them. Devotion to Margaret was not simply devotion to a Scottish saint-queen; she also represented a lost Anglo-Saxon past and provided a particular template for female behaviour. Over the course of this thesis I will demonstrate that while these many significances shift in and out of focus across the centuries, two main threads endure: that

[52] Fitch, 'Mothers and Sons', p. 167.
[53] David N. Bell, 'Ailred [Ælred, Æthelred] of Rievaulx (1110–1167)', *ODNB*, accessed 20.08.16. The Black Rood was a richly decorated reliquary that supposedly contained a piece of the True Cross. See also Keene, *St Margaret*, pp. 31–2.

of domestic politics, as a model for women and queens; and that of national and international political interests, in her role as dynastic mother.

Overview of the Thesis

In this thesis, I set out to examine how Margaret's literary representation changed over time, why it did so, and how great a difference there is between her representation in different time periods and across the Anglo-Scottish border. I will also analyse how literary representations of Margaret reflect changing (or unchanging) ideas about the role of women in general and queens in particular, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. By addressing these questions, I will provide a deeper understanding of the way that medieval attitudes towards sanctity, genealogical inheritance, national identity and familial gender-politics were filtered through and influenced by ideas of queenship. As well as examining the representation of Margaret within her historical and political context in detail, I also offer her as a case-study in the literary representation of medieval queens and queenship, and in medieval women's representation in life-writing.

I begin with Margaret's own books and literate activities. One book survives that is thought to have been owned by Margaret herself, the gospel-book that reportedly fell in a river and was miraculously saved by divine intervention, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 5. Although small in size and clearly intended for personal devotion, Margaret's gospel-book is lavishly and beautifully decorated. Gameson has suggested that the book, and Margaret's bookishness in Turgot's *Vita*, are simply a function of her piety.[54] Evidence of Margaret's literary activities in her lifetime, however, stands against this assertion. Margaret's correspondence with Archbishop Lanfranc and records of her literary patronage demonstrate that the representation of Margaret as especially literate and book-loving reflects a queen concerned with education as

[54] Richard Gameson, 'The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the Literacy of an Eleventh-Century Queen', in *Women and the Book*, pp. 149–71, (p. 164).

well as piety – a learned woman as well as a pious one. Furthermore, Margaret's book-ownership and patronage invites comparison with that of Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, Emma of Normandy, and especially with her daughter Matilda, to whom Margaret's earliest biography is addressed. Margaret belongs to a tradition of queenly literacy which both reflects and forms the means of access to power that women might otherwise have been unable to exercise.

Chapter 2 builds on the idea of Turgot's *Vita* (1100x1107) as a 'mirror for princesses', and considers the influence Margaret's textual representation had on her daughter's queenship. The representation of Margaret in the *Vita* is shaped by popular models of ideal queenship in the Middle Ages, including the Virgin Mary, St Helena, and the biblical Esther. An examination of these exemplary figures reveals the ways in which female power and influence was expressed, explored and mediated through established models. In what purports to be a personal account of her life, Margaret is constructed through recourse to these key saints and biblical figures. The afterlife of the *Vita* furthermore demonstrates how Margaret becomes a model of perfect queenship herself, not just for her daughter but to subsequent generations of queens. This is most powerfully attested to by the survival of the 1661 *Idaea of the Perfect Princesse*, mentioned above. For Matilda, Margaret's daughter, the *Vita* functioned both as an 'advice to princesses' text and as a political tool, shaping her representation as rightful Queen of England, and positioning her marriage to Henry I as the restoration of the right line to the throne.

The third chapter focuses on the early English chronicle tradition, taking into account the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (eleventh century), William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (*c.*1125), Ælred of Rievaulx's *Genealogica Regum Anglorum* (1153–4), Eadmer's *Historia Novum in Anglia* (*c.*1122), and Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History* (*c.*1120–41). In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, especially in the Northern-produced D-version, Margaret and Malcolm appear as an ideal royal couple according to the conventions of Old English poetry, dispensing vast amounts of riches and wise counsel.

The Scottish court thus forms a possible focus for Northern English anti-Norman resistance as the model of good governance. In the other chronicles, Margaret is less prominent, but still has genealogical significance as the last Anglo-Saxon princess. These texts are unique among those regarding Margaret, since they are the only ones in which she is presented as a queen and never as a saint. Pious and virtuous she might be, but her significance here is purely political and dynastic.

Chapter 4 examines the Dunfermline manuscript, Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097. To date, this manuscript has never been edited, and it has never before been considered as a whole. My thesis takes the whole manuscript into account, considering the representation of Margaret within those texts that concern her – the 'Dunfermline' interpolated version of her *Vita*, a historical miscellany, a regnal list of Scottish kings to James III, her *Miracula* – and those that accompany it, which include a life of the Scottish saint St Waldef, and a wealth of devotional and advisory material.[55] The Dunfermline manuscript effects a synthesis between Margaret the saint and Margaret the queen, placing her miracles alongside a (seemingly) unbroken line of Scottish kings, and blending spiritual with political interest in a compilation which supports both Margaret's canonisation and the divine right of Scottish kings. Positioning St Margaret as a dynastic mother meant that Scottish sovereignty could be easily represented as divinely-ordained, and the identification of St Margaret and her shrine with Dunfermline Abbey made the most prominent Scottish royal mausoleum of the early-to-high medieval period a site of international pilgrimage, underlining the authority and legitimacy of the Scottish royal line.

[55] An edition of the Dunfermline *Vita* has been published as part of Keene's biography of Margaret, pp. 136–221, and the *Miracula* have been edited by Bartlett: *Miracles*, pp. 69–145. The rest of the material in the Dunfermline manuscript has yet to be edited.

My final chapter argues that Margaret functions as a specifically Scottish national and dynastic saint in the later Latin and vernacular Scottish chronicles, including those of of Fordun, Bower and Wyntoun. For Fordun and Bower, Malcolm and Margaret form a parallel with Scotland's mythic founders, Gaythelos and Scota, and mark a new origin-point in Scottish history. Margaret as saint expresses divine protection for the Scottish nation and the Scottish royal family. Mapstone has written of Bower's *Scotichronicon* as an advice-to-princes text, and in this chapter I will develop ideas initially covered in Chapter 2 and suggest that Margaret as she appears within fifteenth-century Scottish chronicles forms a counterpoint to this as an example of ideal Scottish queenly behaviour.[56] In these Scottish chronicles, Margaret is most important after her death – as saint, and as dynastic foundress. Her status as last of the Anglo-Saxon royal line protects Scottish sovereignty and even subtly suggests that the kings of Scotland are more legitimate than their Norman-descended English counterparts.[57] Whereas in the early English chronicles, Margaret's political significance lies in her immediate relations and her status as Anglo-Saxon princess, in the Older Scots chronicles it is largely her status as saint and the symbolic power of this to express divine favour that carries political resonance.

[56] Sally Mapstone, 'Bower on Kingship', in *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, ed. by D.E.R. Watt et al., vol. 9 (Aberdeen and Edinburgh: Aberdeen University Press, 1998), pp. 321–38.

[57] This may have been more about self-preservation than about seeking a union of the crowns. Margaret's marriage into the Scottish royal family provided protection from invasion from the Anglo-Norman court of William I and his successors, since William's claim to the throne rested on his relation to Edward the Confessor, to whom Margaret was also related. To diminish her legitimacy would have threatened his own claim to the throne, and might have stirred up the same kind of support Margaret's brother Edgar Ætheling had found for his botched rebellion in 1068. This problem would be resolved in 1100 when William's son, Henry I, married Margaret's daughter Matilda of Scotland and the line was considered to be restored.

Chapter 1: St Margaret and her Books

Literary representations of St Margaret of Scotland consistently and conspicuously depict her as a particularly learned and literate woman. Both textual and visual representations repeatedly show her as a reader, and in particular as a reader and devotee of religious texts. In this chapter I will consider how these representations shape conceptualisation of Margaret as both queen and saint, and what political, religious and social function Margaret as literate queen performs in the various contexts in which she appears. I consider first Margaret's particular representation as literate by Turgot, then historical evidence of female literacy and how female literacy was represented at that time. I proceed to examine in detail the surviving evidence for Margaret's literacy, focusing in particular on her miraculous gospel-book, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. f. 5. Thus I will demonstrate that Margaret's literacy in life and her representation as literate after her death both had significant political work to do. Through Scripture, reading grounded Margaret's authority in the patriarchal authority of the Church, allowing Margaret to exert influence in her own time and furthermore stand as an unusual icon of female authority. Through the gift of books, Margaret and other early medieval queens could demonstrate their favour for religious institutions and exert their influence. Thus the image of Margaret as reader and book-owner is both pious and political.

Margaret's Literacy

From the earliest textual representation of Margaret, the *Vita Sanctæ Margaritæ Scotorum Reginæ*, ostensibly written by Margaret's own confessor Turgot, prior of Durham, in the early eleventh

century for Margaret's daughter Matilda, Margaret has been consistently represented as learned, literate, and moreover a lover of books.[1]

The Margaret of the *Vita* is a pious and learned woman devoted to her gospel-book and psalter, and a wealthy book-owner whose adoring yet illiterate husband brings her books that he has had treasure-bound to please her. The single miracle in the *Vita* describes the preservation of her beloved gospel-book through divine intervention when a servant of Margaret drops it into a river. The *Vita* gives a portrait of a woman who is largely defined by her relationship with books; her scriptural devotion gives her authority in the Scottish court, inspires a heathen husband to obey her, and articulates God's favour for this especially pious and literate queen. Thus Margaret's love of books is central to Turgot's understanding and representation of her sanctity.

Margaret is primarily characterised as devoted to religious texts, and intelligent in her understanding of them. In his first description of Margaret as queen, Turgot emphasises that her literacy and learning were exemplary:

> Cum ergo in primæva adhunc floreret ætate, vitam sobrietatis ducere, ac Deum super omnia cœpit diligere, in Divinarum lectionum studio sese occupare, et in his [sic] animum delectabiliter exercere. Inerat ei ad intelligendum quamlibet rem acuta ingenii subtilitas, ad retinendum multa memoriæ tenacitas, ad proferendum gratiosa verborum facilitas.[2]

Her careful study, her 'vit[a] sobreitatis' ('life of restraint'), is contrasted with 'primæva […] floreret ætate' ('the flower of her youth') to stress how Margaret has put away bodily concerns

[1] 'Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ', in *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea*, ed. by John Hodgson-Hinde, vol. 1 (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society, 1868), pp. 234–54. All subsequent references are to this edition. All translations are my own. For references to contested authorship of the *Vita* see Chapter 2 of this thesis, p. 80.

[2] p. 238, 'Therefore while she was still in the flower of her youth, she began to lead a life of restraint, to love God above all else, to occupy herself in the study of divine readings, and to delightfully exercise her mind in these things. Her mind was keen to understand whatever matter was at hand with her natural intelligence and she could hold many things in her memory, which she was able to express in an eloquent manner.'

for spiritual ones. Her long-time devotion to matters of learning and the spirit functions as an expression of piety as well as intelligence.

Turgot proceeds to equate Margaret's reflection upon Scripture with learning at the feet of Christ. Margaret's contemplation makes her appear 'tanquam altera Maria secus pedes Domini sedens'.[3] This reference is to the Mary from the story of Martha and Mary in Luke's Gospel, where Mary chooses to sit at Christ's feet and listen to his teaching rather than to help her sister with the housework.[4] In the Middle Ages, Martha and Mary took on an emblematic significance, with Martha representing the 'active' spiritual life, and Mary representing the 'contemplative' spiritual life.[5] Margaret is figured in the contemplative role, sitting at the feet of Christ and learning wisdom. Though positioning Margaret at Christ's feet serves to underline her humility, it also underlines her authority, as she is placed in a position where she is receiving wisdom directly from Christ.[6]

The parallel with Mary is significant given the active role that a queen was expected to have, intervening on behalf of the Church and giving out charity to the poor, both of which are examples of the 'active' rather than the 'contemplative' life. This allusion presents Margaret as one who put away practical cares of the household in favour of spiritual devotion, whereas Turgot's more general portrait of Margaret is of one who took into her care the organisation of the royal household, so as to ensure that the Scottish court had the accoutrements of a European

[3] p. 238, 'as though she were a second Mary, sitting at the feet of the Lord'. It is also worth noting that Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, is described in similar terms in the *Vita* of her husband she commissioned: 'preter ecclesiam et regalem mensam malebat ad pedes ipsius sedere' ('except in church and at the royal table [she preferred] to sit at his [Edward the Confessor's] feet'); *The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), p. 42. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[4] Luke 10: 38–42.

[5] Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 19.

[6] Jem Bloomfield, "'like another Mary sitting at his feet" – Margaret of Scotland', *quiteirregular* blog, <https://quiteirregular.wordpress.com/2015/11/16/like-another-mary-sitting-at-his-feet-margaret-of-scotland/> accessed 01.12.15.

royal court.[7] The image also shows Margaret's humble devotion to God, and suggests a model of female behaviour: a model of quiet contemplation to serve as a counterpoint to the active role she was required to take in life, thereby successfully combining both 'Martha' and 'Mary' models.

Margaret's literacy not only expresses these biblical models but also forms an example of piety in its own right. In her *Vita*, in addition to her own saintly emulation of biblical exemplary women, Margaret is represented as an educator. It is Margaret's love of books specifically which becomes the catalyst for Malcolm's transformation from heathenish warrior-king into pious Christian king. Turgot describes Malcolm as 'ignarus […] literarum' ('ignorant of his letters'), adoring Margaret's books because she loves them, kissing the ones she loves best and having them treasure-bound to please her.[8] It is tempting to imagine that Margaret's own gospel-book once had a treasure-binding commissioned by King Malcolm out of uxorious affection, but as I will discuss more fully below, no trace of one remains. Nonetheless, Turgot's statement that 'ipse rex ad reginam, quasi suæ devotionis indicium, referre consuevit' is a striking portrayal of a devoted husband.[9] In contemporary visual imagery it is almost exclusively to the Virgin Mary that men bring books and it is therefore possible that Margaret is here also to be seen in parallel with the Virgin.[10]

We should further consider how Turgot's particular picture has shaped our historical understanding of Malcolm. Gameson has pointed out that if we had chronicle or inventory records of Malcolm ordering the decoration of books, he would likely be considered a bibliophile and devoted to religious texts, but Turgot's *Vita* presents the decoration of these

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[7] See Chapter 2, p. 100.
[8] p. 241.
[9] p. 241, 'The King himself was accustomed to bring [the books he had had decorated] to the Queen, as a demonstration of his devotion.'
[10] Richard Gameson, 'The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the Literacy of an Eleventh-Century Queen', in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane Taylor (London: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 149–71, (p. 160).

books as the actions of an illiterate but adoring husband.[11] Because, according to Turgot, Malcolm does not understand what is within the books that Margaret loves, he decorates their outsides as a demonstration of devotion not to the words within, but rather to Margaret herself.

However, there is more to be understood about specific meanings of the term 'literatus'. Throughout the early and high medieval period, the word 'literatus' is used, and it is often translated as 'literate'; however, it means something very different from our modern understanding of the word 'literate'.[12] 'Literatus' more generally referred to one who is literate in Latin, although it also possible that Malcolm would have had at least some basic understanding of Latin. In this case, Michael Clanchy's understanding of the medieval term 'li[t]eratus' is, I believe, the most helpful. Clanchy points out that 'li[t]eratus', if applied to a knight, would indicate exceptional learning, not the ability to read and write and that furthermore there was also a degree of transference between illiteracy and laity.[13] In the medieval period they were seen as, to an extent, synonymous, so Margaret's presentation as literate is necessarily her representation as one with authority on a par with members of the institutional Church, as well as a woman of exceptional learning. In fact, the term 'li[t]eratus' did not just indicate the ability to read in Latin, but moreover suggested 'authori[s]ed textual practices'.[14] That is to say, the term 'li[t]eratus' indicated one with a degree of authority based on their reading and use of texts.

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[11] Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 163.

[12] Ralph Turner in his 1978 article 'The *Miles Literatus* in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England: How Rare a Phenomenon?', *The American Historical Review*, 83, pp. 928–45 argues for varying degrees of literacy (in our modern understanding) that would not be described as literate in the medieval period. 'Pragmatic readers' (p. 931), those who could read in their vernacular and read for functional use in Latin would not have been called literate, even though our modern understanding of literacy would find them so. Since Turner finds that most knights in the twelfth century were pragmatically literate (p. 931), it seems likely that Malcolm was at least a pragmatic reader. The medieval 'literatus' was more commonly applied to mean something more like the modern 'learned' (p. 931), someone with a knowledge of classical texts and an education in Latin, rather than simply someone who could read.

[13] Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* 3rd edn. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012; originally published 1979), p. 231. Clanchy uses the spelling variant 'litteratus', but for consistency I have amended this to 'li[t]eratus' throughout.

[14] Katherine Zieman, 'Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England', *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. by Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 97–120, (p. 97).

Certainly, this definition of 'li[t]eratus' is highly suggestive when we consider the representation of Margaret as literate and Malcolm's as 'ignarus […] literarum' ('ignorant of his letters'), since it is Margaret who, by way of her literacy and learning, brings the Latin-based authority of the Roman church to Scotland with her religious reforms. It is, moreover, through her exceptional learning that Turgot presents her as effecting these reforms.

Margaret displays this exceptional learning alongside divinely-inspired intelligence in her reforming endeavours. Turgot represents her at the Scottish Church councils surpassing the Church doctors in a manner reminiscent of the young Christ disputing with the doctors in the temple:[15]

> inter multiplices regni curas, miro studio Divinæ lectioni operam dabat; de qua cum doctissimis assidentibus viris etiam subtiles sæpius quætiones conserebat. Sed sicut inter eos nemo illa ingenio profundior, ita nemo aderat eloquio clarior. Evenit itaque sæpius, ut ab ea ipsi doctores, multo quam advenerant, abcederent doctores.[16]

The comparatives 'clarior' ('clearer') and 'profundior' ('deeper') clearly construct Margaret as superior in her expression and understanding of Scripture.[17] As with Christ, this comes from her closeness to God and her piety, but we should also bear in mind the context in which this is

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[15] Luke 2: 46–7.

[16] pp. 240–1, 'Among the many cares of state, she gave herself to the work of divine reading with incredible devotion. She used to engage these most learned men whom she sat with about it often with exacting questions. But just as among them there was none with deeper intelligence than she, so there was none with a clearer manner of expressing themselves. So it happened very often that these learned men left her much more learned even than when they came.'

[17] Interestingly, this episode is also like the episode in the later *Book of Margery Kempe*, in which the un-Latinate uneducated Margery disputes with the church doctors, in book 47: 'Than the styward of Leycetyr, a semly man, sent for the seyd creatur to the jaylerys wyfe, and sche, for hir husbond was not at hom, wolde not late hir gon to no man, styward ne other. Whan the jayler knew therof, he cam hys propyr persone and browt hir befor the stywarde. The styward anon, as he sey hir, spak Latyn unto hir, many prestys stondyng abowtyn to here what sche schulde say and other pepyl also. Sche seyd to the stywarde, "Spekyth Englysch, yf yow lyketh, for I undyrstonde not what ye sey." The styward seyd unto hir, "Thu lyest falsly in pleyn Englysch." Than seyd sche unto hym agen, "Syr, askyth what qwestyon ye wil in Englysch, and thorw the grace of my Lord Jhesu Cryst I schal answeyn yow resonabely therto." And than askyd he many qwestyonys, to the whech sche answeryd redily and resonabely that he cowd getyn no cawse ageyn hir', *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by Barry Windeatt (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004; revised edn., 2006), p. 231. In Margaret's case, although we are seeing something divinely inspired, it is never suggested that she does not have the most thorough of religious educations.

presented. She is not just divinely inspired; her careful learning combines with her devotion to give her this authority. Margaret is 'literatus' in every sense of the word: literate, Latinate, learned, and a reader and purveyor of authoritative religious texts.

Margaret's literacy also gives her the orthodoxy and authority to make real legislative changes in both religious and secular law, which she does 'sanctæ Scripturæ tesimoniis, atque sanctorum Patrum […] sententiis'.[18] Margaret's literacy grounds her authority in the patriarchal writings of the Church Fathers and Holy Scripture, thereby rendering her female influence distinctly orthodox and non-threatening. Through a careful synthesis of education, literacy, and adherence to accepted male teaching, Turgot gives Margaret authority and that authority orthodoxy. Margaret without her books would have no authority, even as a queen, to assert that such changes should take place.

Margaret's literacy is essential to her sanctity, linked through her gospel-book and the miracle of its preservation. The miracle of Margaret's gospel-book is the only miracle recorded in either version of her *Vita*. In fact, Turgot emphatically refuses to report all other miracles associated with Margaret, deeming them less important than the deeds of her life. Turgot alludes to reports of other miracles, but writes 'profiteor me nihil, supra id quod est, addere; sed, ne incredibilia videantur, multa silentio supprimere'.[19] Unlike with much hagiography, Turgot insists on the literal (rather than symbolic) truth of his account. He insists that his account is based on fact and claims that his aim is to present a plausible version of events. This may be in part due to his framing of this text as advisory, for the guidance of Margaret's daughter; the example must be one it would be possible to emulate.[20] In light of this, his inclusion of the one miraculous

[18] p. 245, 'with the testimonies of the Holy Scripture and the arguments of the Holy Fathers'.
[19] p. 235, 'I declare that I add nothing to what happened; but rather, lest they seem unbelievable, I suppress many things with silence'.
[20] See Lois L. Huneycutt, 'The Idea of the Perfect Princess: the *Life of St Margaret* in the Reign of Matilda II (1100–1118)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 12 (1989), pp. 81–97, passim.

moment involving Magaret's gospel-book demonstrates its centrality to his understanding of Margaret.

In this miracle, Margaret's gospel-book falls into a river and is 'de medio fluminis extrahitur, ita ut minime ab aqua tactus videretur'.[21] Turgot then addresses his reader directly to say 'ego, propter reginæ venerabilis dilectionem, hoc signum a Domino non ambigo'; Margaret's literacy and love of books exists in symbiosis with her piety and God's love of her.[22] This ties her to the physical world, and thus Margaret's book takes on the status of relic, an earthly remnant of Margaret's spiritual relationship with God, and a holy object twice-over as a book of Scripture and the possession of a saint.

Turgot recounts the miracle thus:

> Tandem in profundo fluminis apertus jacere reperitur, ita ut illius folia impetu aquæ sine cessatione agitarentur, et panniculi de serico violentia fluminis abstraherentur, qui litters aureas, ne foliorum contactu obfuscarentur, contexerant. Quis ulterius librum valere putaret? Quis in eo vel unam litteram parere crederet? Certe integer, incorruptus, illæsus, de medio fluminis extrahitur, ita ut minime ab aqua tactus videretur […] Liber simul et miraculum ad reginam refertur, quæ, reddita Christo gratiarum actione, multo carius quam ante codicem amplectitur. Quare alii videant quid inde sentiant; ego, propter reginæ venerabilis dilectionem, hoc signum a Domino non ambigo.[23]

It is this miracle account that links MS. Lat. liturg. f. 5 to St Margaret. The manuscript contains an eleventh-century poem on the front flyleaves, identifying it as the possession of a saintly

[21] p. 250, 'taken up from the middle of the river, in such a state that it appeared that the water had not touched it at all'.
[22] p. 250, 'I do not doubt that this was a sign from God, worked because of his love for the venerable queen'.
[23] p. 250, 'At length, it was found lying open at the depths of the river, in such a way that its leaves had been moved about constantly by the waters, and the little pieces of silk which protected the golden letters from being damaged by touching the leaves had been violently torn away by the current. Who would have thought the book of any value after this? Who would have believed that even one letter would be legible? But truly indeed, undamaged, uninjured, it was lifted up from the middle of the river, and it seemed as though it had barely been touched by the water [...] The book and the news of the miracle were at once carried back to the queen, who, having given great thanks to Christ, held it even more dearly than she had done before. However it may seem to others, I know what I make of it; I do not doubt that our Lord worked this miracle as a sign of his great love for this venerable queen.'

queen, and describing how it fell into a river, lost the linen coverlets on the letters, and yet miraculously survived. I here transcribe the poem from the manuscript and offer a new translation:

xp(ist)e t(ibi) se(m)p(er) grates p(er)soluim(us) om(ne)s. Te(m)pore
q(ui) n(ost)ro nobis miracula pandis; hunc
libru(m) q(ui)da(m) int(er)se iurare uolentes;
Su(m)pserunt nudu(m) sine tegmine n(on)q(ue) lig(a)t(u)m
Pr(es)b(y)t(er) accipiens ponit sinuamine uestis.
Flumine transmisso codex est mer(su)s inamnem [sic]
Portitor ignorat libru(m) penetrasse p(ro)fundu(m);
Sed miles quida(m) cernens (post) multa mom(en)ta;
Tollere ia(m) uoluit libru(m) de flumine mersu(m);
Sed titubat subito libru(m) du(m) uidit ap(er)tu(m);
Credens q(uo)d codex ex toto p(er)dit(us) esset;
At tam(en) immitten(s) undis corp(us) cu(m)uertice sum(m)o;
hoc euang(e)liu(m) p(ro)fert degurgite ap(er)tu(m);
O uirt(us) clara cunctis o gl(ori)a magna;
Inuoilat(us) eni(m) codex p(er)mansit ubiq(ue);
Exceptis foliis binis que cernis utrinq(ue);
Inq(ui)b(us) exundis paret contractio queda(m);
Que testant(ur) op(us) xpi(sti) p(ro)codice s(an)c(t)o;
Hoc op(us) ut nobis maius mirabile constet
Demedio libri pannu(m) lini abtulit unda;
Saluati se(m)p(er) sint rex reginaq(ue) s(an)c(t)a;
Quo(rum) codex erat nup(er) saluat(us) abundis.
Gl(ori)a magna d(e)o libru(m) q(ui) saluat eunde(m).[24]

This poem appears to have been composed relatively close to the events it describes and copied into the gospel-book soon after. The script could be as early as the eleventh century and the poem itself emphatically refers to contemporary events, saying that this miracle was worked

[24] 'We give eternal thanks to you, Christ, who manifest miracles to us in our own time. They took up this same book, bare without covering or binding, placed by the priest carrying it within the folds of his clothing. Unbeknownst, this book was dropped while being carried over the river. He who carried it did not notice the book sinking into the depths. But a certain knight, noticing it some time later, wanted to lift out the book that was submerged in the river. But he suddenly faltered when he saw that the book was open, believing the book to be completely destroyed; but at length he jumped bodily in and swam to the bottom of the river. He brought the open gospel-book out of the stream. O greatest virtue coupled with the highest glory! For the book had remained undamaged everywhere apart from the two leaves which you see at each end, in which some contraction appears from being underwater, which is testament to Christ's work for this holy book. This further work bears yet greater testament to a miracle; from the middle of the book the waves lifted away a linen cloth. May the holy King and Queen be saved for ever, this book of whose was just now saved from the waters by the great glory of God, who saved this same book.' Modern punctuation added. Transcription and translation is my own.

'nuper' ('recently'), and thanking God for providing miracles '[t]empore […] nostro' ('in our own time').[25] Moreover, while the narrative is exactly the same as the account in Turgot's *Vita*, the poem does not appear to borrow any language or phrasing from Turgot's account. There are even some striking differences: the 'seric[us]' ('silk') of Turgot's account is given as 'lin[um]' ('linen') in the flyleaf poem, for example, suggesting no direct textual transmission of the story between Turgot's *Vita* and this poem. Whether there was a shared anecdotal or textual source cannot be known, but it is clear that the author of the flyleaf poem was not using Turgot's *Vita*, as we know it, as an exemplar.

The two accounts differ more significantly in tone. Turgot's is more conversational, with his use of rhetorical questions ('Quis in eo vel unam litteram parere crederet?'), and more focused on Margaret.[26] This is in line with his own assertion that he wrote the *Vita* so that Matilda could become better acquainted with the mother that she did not know, and with his agenda of promoting Margaret as a saint. Turgot gives a firm and assertive declaration that this miracle was worked 'propter reginæ venerabilis dilectionem' ('because [of God's] love for the venerable queen'). For the author of the flyleaf poem, it is the work of 'xpist[us]' ('Christ') through the 'cod[ex] sanct[us]' ('holy book') that reflects the holiness of 'rex reginaque sancta' ('the holy King and Queen'). Forbes-Leith suggests a translation of this as 'the king and the holy queen', but both the conjunctive enclitic '-que' and the possibility of 'sancta' as neuter plural rather than feminine singular could equally suggest that both king and queen, rather than just queen alone, are described by the adjective 'sancta'.[27] Furthermore, unlike Turgot's account where the miracle of the gospel-book serves to illustrate Margaret's sanctity and virtue, in the flyleaf poem the 'regina […] sancta' ('holy Queen') does not appear until the third from last line of the poem, and

[25] Forbes-Leith suggests a potential date for the poem as early as 1090, *The Gospel Book of Saint Margaret* [Facsimile] (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1896), p. 7.
[26] p. 250, 'Who would have believed that even one letter would be legible?'
[27] Forbes-Leith, *Gospel Book*, p. 12.

she is never named. For Turgot, the gospel-book miracle must be contextualised within Margaret's life, but in the flyleaf poem, Margaret (if this 'sancta […] regina' is indeed her) must be associated with God's protection of his holy word, as represented in the gospel-book itself.

Margaret is not the only Scottish saint whose book was miraculously saved from water damage by divine intervention. Scottish saints St Columba and St Ninian both had books that were preserved from water damage by God. In St Adamnan's seventh-century *Life of St Columba*, a miracle occurs when a book written by Columba himself is similarly impervious to water. In this account, a book written 'sanctis […] digitulis' ('by the saintly fingers') of St Columba falls into a river, and like Margaret's book is submerged for a long time, but is then miraculously preserved:

> Aliud miraculum æstimo non tacendum, quod aliquando factum est per contrarium elementum. Multorum namque transcursis annorum circulis post beati ad Dominum transitum viri, quidam juvenis de equo lapsus in flumine, quod Scotice Boend vocitatur, mersus et mortuus, viginti sub aqua diebus permansit; qui sicuti sub ascella, cadens, libros in pelliceo reconditos sacculo habebat, ita etiam post supra memoratum dierum numerum est repertus, sacculum cum libris inter brachium et latus continens; cujus etiam ad aridam reportato cadavere, et aperto sacculo, folium sancti Columbae sanctis scriptum digitulis, inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupa sed et putrefacta, inventum est siccum et nullo modo corruptum, ac si in scriniolo esset reconditum.[28]

Like Margaret's miracle, emphasis is placed on the duration of the submersion 'vinginti […] diebus' ('for twenty days'), and the fact that the leather bag the book was carried in perished while the book remained unharmed, just as Margaret's book lost its silk/linen coverlets but also

[28] *The Life of St Columba, Founder of Hy, by Adamnan*, ed. by William Reeves (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874), pp. 157–8. All subsequent references are to this edition. All translations are my own. 'I cannot keep silent about another miracle, which was done through the opposite element. Many years had passed since that blessed man had passed over to the Lord, when a certain young man fell from his horse and into the river that is called Boend by the Scots. Drowned and dead he stayed beneath the water for twenty days. This man had tucked under his arm some books packed up in a leather bag, and so when he was retrieved after the aforementioned number of days, he was still holding the bag with the books between his arm and his side. And then, when his corpse was brought onto the dry land and the bag was opened it was found to contain, among other books whose pages were not only spoiled but also rotten, pages written by the holy fingers of St Columba which were dry and completely unharmed, as if they had been kept in a desk.' There are actually two stories about a book written by St Columba being saved from water-damage. Adamnan also records a book of hymns copied by Columba himself being saved after lying in a river from Christmas until Easter, pp. 158–9.

remained completely intact. The added detail that the book was written by Columba's own hand may have prompted Rushforth's (unlikely) suggestion that Margaret wrote her own gospel-book, since these stories have a striking amount in common.[29] Columba's book came to be considered a relic because of its close connection with the saint and its miraculous nature, and Margaret's book may have been treated in the same way.[30]

In Ælred of Rievaulx's *Vita* of St Ninian (1154–1160), the saint's books are preserved from the water as an indication of his devotion to the Word of God. Ælred describes how, whenever he rested on the road, Ninian 'libello quem, propter hoc ipsum circumferebat, legere aliquid aut psallere gratem habebat'.[31] As with the miracle of Margaret and her book, a description of the saint's devotion to the book in general and psalm and Scripture in particular immediately precedes a miracle protecting the saint's beloved book from water. Divine protection extends even further for St Ninian; God protects his reading to such an extent that the saint is able to read out in the rain without any of his books being damaged:

> Unde illi tantam gratiam virtus divina contulerat, ut etiam sub divo recumbens, et legens inter densissimas pluvias, nichil umquam humoris, cui indendebat codicem

[29] Rebecca Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel-book: The Favourite Book of an Eleventh-Century Queen of Scots* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), p. 55. While we know that books were produced in nunneries, there is little evidence of a culture of female scribes in Margaret's time, and even less evidence that noblewomen schooled in nunneries ever undertook any of the actual copying themselves. Aside from the fact that Margaret was not a trained scribe, women are very rarely represented as writing or acting as scribes before 1400. We know that nuns did copy books, but representations of women engaged in writing are almost non-existent in this period, despite the fact that there are numerous pictures of men, including saints and monks, writing, and depictions of women from this period engaged in reading. The Anglo-Saxon period is in fact the only period in which we have any evidence at all that nuns were writing and illuminating manuscripts. For discussion on this, see Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries c. 1275–1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 237–84. As it is, it is impossible that Margaret could have written her own gospel-book as it predates her.

[30] Nancy Netzer, 'The Design and Decoration of Insular Gospel-books and other Liturgical Manuscripts, c.600–c.900', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume I: c. 400–1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 225–43, (p. 228).

[31] '[had] a little book which he carried around with him for this purpose and enjoyed reading or singing a psalm'. Latin text: John Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, ed. by W.M. Metcalfe, 2 vols (Paisley: Alexander Gardener, 1889), vol. 1, p. 31. English translation: John and Winifred MacQueen, *St Nynia* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005), p. 116.

> attigisset. Set vicinis locis cirumquaque aqua irruente madentibus, solus cum libello suo ita sub undis quasi sub tecti alicujus culmine resideret.[32]

While Margaret and Columba's books fall into water and Ninian's books are saved from rain, the same pattern prevails: the divine protection of the book follows the saint's devotion to it. Though Ælred's *Vita* of Ninian is more than half a century later than Margaret's book-miracle as recorded in the flyleaf poem, Ninian was a much earlier saint, and this story of Ninian and his books may well have preceded the Margaret book-miracle account.

The pattern is prevalent in the stories of Scottish saints, but also appears in the case of the Irish saint Aidan who leaves a book out in the rain. His book is likewise preserved by God in recompense for Aidan's piety and humility.[33] This hagiographical pattern may well have given Turgot an opportunity to link a water-damaged book to a rich history of saints with divinely-rescued books. His miracle ties the Anglo-Saxon/Hungarian Margaret more firmly to a tradition of Scoto-Irish hagiography. She is also the only female saint who has a book miraculously saved from water by divine intervention.[34] The gospel-book flyleaf poem connects her with native saints Columba and Ninian, and Turgot chooses this miracle alone to incorporate into what is largely a biographical *Vita*. This miracle offered him the opportunity to link Margaret's sanctity to a particular physical object and to a tradition of Scottish hagiography, and to emphaise her devotion to Scripture. In this way it both became an expression of Margaret's sanctity and a model for virtuous queens. As with St Aidan's rain-damaged book, preservation of the book is only granted if the saint is themselves devoted to the Word of God. Any potential water damage to Margaret's book, then, would have offered Turgot the opportunity to construct a matching

[32] vol. 1, p. 31. 'So divine power had conferred such great grace upon him that even when he was reclining out of doors and reading in the heaviest showers of rain, no moisture touched the book he was studying, but when everything about him was soaking wet with water running down everywhere, he alone sat with his little book under the waters as if under the roof of a house.' p. 116.

[33] See the *Life of St David*, ed. and trans. by Arthur W. Wade-Evans (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923), Chapter 35, p. 17.

[34] St Faber, an early Irish saint, was thought to have cursed the Sillees river to make it run backwards (away from the sea) after her books were destroyed when they fell from the pet deer she used to transport them around. However, these books are not divinely preserved as is the case with the books of the three male saints, Columba, Ninian and Aidan, and Margaret.

miracle through which both Margaret's bookish authority and her sanctity could be demonstrated and proved.

In addition to this hagiographical pattern, it seems that there was at least a prevailing popular idea that Margaret really did drop her beloved gospel-book into a river from where it was rescued.[35] Turgot's account of the gospel-book miracle matches the flyleaf poem's assertion of a miracle 'nostro tempore' ('in our time'); his early-twelfth-century *Vita* stands as further evidence that this miracle was associated with Margaret in her own time. Turgot was the prior of Durham, identified in the 'Cotton' manuscript version of the *Vita* as 'T. servus servorum S. Cuthberti' ('T. servant of the servants of St Cuthbert') and in the Dunfermline *Vita* as 'Turgotus'.[36] Turgot's account, like the flyleaf poem, claims to be an account written by a contemporary observer of the events described. While there has been some disagreement as to whether Turgot was indeed Margaret's confessor, the account positions itself as an eyewitness account and stresses the veracity of the gospel-book miracle as one witnessed, rather than remembered or reported by a written source.[37]

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[35] This is, in fact, not the only holy object Margaret is credited with dropping. She also reportedly dropped St Katherine's holy oil, though – as with the gospel-book – this turned out to be a fortuitous accident, since on the spot a well of viscous black liquid appeared that had the same healing properties as St Katherine's shrine at Sinai. See Melissa M. Coll-Smith, 'Royal Devotion and Cultic Promotion: James IV's Dedications to Saints' (Forthcoming). I am grateful to my supervisor, Emily Wingfield, for sharing this material with me.

[36] 'Cotton' *Vita*: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius D. iii, ff. 179v–186r; 'Dunfermline' *Vita*: Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097, ff. 1v–17v.

[37] There is some disagreement over whether or not Turgot was Margaret's confessor. Hodgson-Hinde claims that this is 'evidently a misconception', but Turgot claims to have some kind of personal relationship with Margaret, reporting that she urged him to be strict with her in her personal and religious behaviours. Hodgson-Hinde, *Opera et Collectanea.*, p. lix. Baker argues that the *Vita* is based on an eyewitness account of someone who was close with Margaret during her lifetime. Derek Baker, '"A Nursery of Saints": St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, l978), p. 132.

Women's Literacy

To understand fully the significance of the literary representation of Margaret as conspicuously literate, it is essential to contextualise the readerly Margaret within female literacy – and ideas of female literacy – in her own time. There is little visual evidence of women readers in the early Middle Ages. From the fourteenth century onward women were often depicted as reading or holding books, but in Margaret's time images of this kind were much more exceptional.[38]

Margaret's literacy is intimately related to her sanctity. Gameson has argued that learning to read was synonymous with learning to read the Bible.[39] While this is open to debate, it does seem to some extent that, throughout the medieval period, reading in Latin was particularly associated with devotional reading practices and – even in lay circles – piety. Certainly in the later Middle Ages, women depicted reading were usually members of the Holy Family – that is, St Anne and the Virgin Mary.[40] Furthermore, the emulation of biblical virtuous women is inextricably tied to literacy. Women were encouraged to pattern their lives according to the positive examples provided by biblical women. It is for this reason, Groag Bell argues, that noblewomen were encouraged to read at an early age.[41] It is impossible to know whether Margaret actually consciously patterned her life after these biblical women, but what is certain is that her biographer chose to represent her as living according to these models, as I discuss more fully in Chapter 2.

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[38] Pamela Sheingorn, '"The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 69–80, (p. 75).
[39] Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 163.
[40] Martha W. Driver, 'Mirrors of a Collective Past: Reconsidering Images of Medieval Women', in *Women and the Book*, pp. 75–96, (p. 86). There are select examples of early medieval women pictured reading. Most notable among these is Emma of Normady on the frontispiece of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* (London, British Library, MS Additional 33241, f. iv). Emma is depicted here receiving a book from a man on his knees. St Bridget also offers a parallel, though she is more frequently pictured writing. Smith, '*Scriba, Femina*', p. 27.
[41] Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 149–87, (p. 158).

Among the aristocracy, female literacy served a useful political function. There was a certain expectation that noblewomen would be learned in all things literary and be patrons of the arts, and in fact Margaret's own daughter Matilda – who was also educated at Wilton Abbey – was known in her own time as a prolific patron of the arts.[42] William of Malmesbury remarks upon Matilda's literary skill and enthusiasm, commenting with rather patronising surprise that she 'litteris quoque femineum pectus exercuit'.[43] Just as Matilda's mother Margaret was represented by her biographer as an educating and civilising influence on the Scottish court, so Matilda is represented as a cultural patron at her husband Henry I's court. Matilda's cultural influence on the Anglo-Norman court could even be seen in parallel with Margaret's improvement of the Scottish court, and, as Leyser suggests, the uncivilised Scots are an analogue for the 'philistinism' of the Norman court.[44]

As we might expect from literacy's association with piety, literacy in the religious community was generally higher. In the eleventh century, there certainly were medieval female religious who could read and write in Latin, but the attitude towards this was fairly mixed.[45] Furthermore, this was not a trend that continued throughout the medieval period. Although the Benedictine rule

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[42] Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450–1500* (London: Phoenix Press, 1995), p. 240. Leyser argues that upper-class women were sometimes better read and more sophisticated than their male counterparts, using the example of William the Conqueror in comparison to his daughter Adela (p. 240). William of Malmesbury explicitly praises Matilda's generosity as a patroness of the arts. However, this might not necessarily be unambiguously positive. After her death he expresses some concern about the amount she spent on literary patronage, particularly on foreigners, and in her letters with Anselm she is criticised for withholding money from the church. Leyser, *Medieval Women*, p. 242.

[43] 'even exercised her intelligence, though a woman, in literature', *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings* ed. and trans. by R.A.B Mynors et al., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 754–5. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[44] Leyser, *Medieval Women*, p. 243. For example, Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, and Emma of Normandy, wife of first Æthelred the Unready, then Cnut, were patronessess and exerted influence through the arts. For further discussion on this, see Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997; paperback 2001), pp. 28–52.

[45] For example, while Aldhelm was in favour of Latin-literate nuns, Bede was not. Stephanie Hollis, 'Wilton as a Centre of Learning', in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's 'Legend of Edith' and 'Liber Confortatorius'*, ed. by Stephanie Hollis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 307–38, (p. 307).

emphasised the importance of education for both genders, it was only during the Anglo-Saxon period that nuns were conspicuous for their learning.[46] Margaret might not have stood out for her learning among her peers at Wilton, the abbey at which she was educated as a girl, but at the Scottish court of Malcolm III she appears to have been exceptional.[47] Female education flourished at Wilton Abbey in the eleventh century. Evidence of the books in nuns' libraries is scarce, but a few books survive from Wilton Abbey.[48] As well as a typical interest in liturgical and scriptural reading, these books show a focus on Wilton's patron saint and supposed founder, St Edith, and the Virgin Mary. Both of these were models that Wilton's most famous alumnae, Edith (*d.*1075), wife of Edward the Confessor, Emma of Normandy (*d.*1052), and Matilda of Scotland used for their own political advantage. Except for some French annotations in the Wilton Psalter, all of these surviving texts are in Latin. In the twelfth century, it was usual for nuns to be able to read in Latin.[49] Ælred of Rievaulx wrote to his sister, who was a nun, in Latin in the twelfth century, for example, and the surviving non-liturgical books from abbeys from that era – for example, a copy of the *Song of Songs* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. lat. 19, heavily annotated in Latin – demonstrate that knowledge of Latin was common in convents.

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[46] Power, *Nunneries*, p. 237.

[47] Lanfranc describes Margaret as 'regaliter educata' ('brought up as befits a queen'), which would suggest some precedent for Latinate queens. *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 160–1. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[48] London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina B. iii, ff. 199–280, a *vita* of Wilton's patron saint, St Edith; London, Royal College of Physicians, MS 409 – the 'Wilton Psalter', which includes prayers for the Abbess of Wilton, St Edith, and the Virgin Mary, given to a nun of Romsey in 1523; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl., G. 23 – another psalter, dedicated to a women's house of St Mary and St Edith (i.e. Wilton). See David Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 213–14. Evidence of literary activity there is further borne out by the Abbey's commissioning of Goscelin's *Legend of St Edith* and the careers as patronesses of many of its alumnae, including Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, Emma of Normandy, and Matilda of Scotland.

[49] Alexandra Barratt, 'Small Latin? The Post-Conquest Learning of English Religious Women', in *Anglo-Latin and its Heritage: Essays in Honour of A.G. Rigg*, ed. by Siân Echard and Gernot R. Wieland (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 51–65, (p. 65).

Latinity declined in general, in both female and male monastic houses, but there is still residual evidence that nuns were reading in Latin in the fourteenth century.[50]

As far as learned and literate Anglo-Saxon queens are concerned, Margaret was in good company, following two Wilton alumnae famous for their literate activities: Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, who famously spoke five languages and commissioned the *Vita Ædwardi*, a Latin life of her husband, and Emma of Normandy, wife of Æthelred the Unready and Cnut, who commissioned a Latin poem in her own praise, the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*.[51] Derek Baker even goes so far as to describe it as a 'hot-house' of female education.[52] Certainly Wilton produced many famously literate queens but no famously literate nuns to compete with European figures such as Hrosvit of Gandersheim.[53] Though a religious foundation, its impact on the political sphere far outstripped its impact on the spiritual or ecclesiastical.

Despite the associated pious and devotional nature of reading, Wilton educated four politically influential queens: Edith, Emma, Margaret and Matilda. Margaret went on to become a saint, and Edith is remembered as the wife of a saint; just as Wilton was a religious establishment that produced several influential queens, its alumnae were also able to combine lives as politically active queens with a religious legacy. Since we know that Matilda, Margaret's daughter, was educated at Romsey and Wilton, and Margaret herself was probably also educated at Wilton, we might hope to gain some insight into what they studied from knowledge of what books were in such nunneries at this time. Unfortunately, surviving catalogues of nunnery libraries are limited,

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[50] Barratt, 'Small Latin?', p. 65.
[51] Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 34. The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* is a Latin text commissioned by Emma of Normandy. It describes her marriage to Cnut. See E*ncomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Alistair Campbell and Simon Keynes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[52] Baker, 'St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', p. 124.
[53] Power, *Nunneries*, p. 238. Hrosvit of Gandersheim was a tenth-century German poet and dramatist who lived in the Abbey of Gandersheim. Her drama is written in Latin and references the plays of the Roman dramatist Terence, as well as saints' lives and religious material.

and record relatively few items. Those that survive are modest, and mostly service-books.[54] It is with texts such as these – in particular the *textus argenteus* or 'silver book' of the gospels that Margaret reportedly gifted to Durham, her own gospel-book, and a psalter – that Margaret is associated.[55] The reading material might have been spiritual, but we have evidence, that I will discuss below, that queenly literacy was put to political use.

St Margaret's Gospel-book, MS Lat. liturg. f. 5

Margaret's famous gospel-book survives today in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. As we have seen, this book is identified as Margaret's through its flyleaf poem. As the focus of the only miracle in Margaret's *Vita* and as the supposed sole surviving possession of this famously bookish and saintly queen, it is an evocative symbol of many aspects of the literary representation of Margaret combined – a symbol of both power and piety.

Gospel-books contained selections from the gospels, and were usually intended for private devotional use. They could also contain 'accessory' texts, which would be gospel-lists, or other religious texts, though Margaret's contains none of these.[56] They were commonly decorated, as Margaret's gospel-book is, with illustrations of the Evangelists writing or reading.[57] Gospel-books were central to both education and devotion in the eleventh century and their presentation reflects this; they were often beautifully decorated and carefully written in formal script, standing as testaments to 'the sacred and authoritative nature of Christ's words and actions, [and] were essential to every stage of Christian learning'.[58] They were common in the

[54] Power, *Nunneries*, p. 240–1.
[55] Richard Gameson, 'Book Decoration in England c. 871–c. 1100', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, volume 1, pp. 249–93, (p. 278).
[56] Patrick McGurk, 'Anglo-Saxon Gospel-books, c. 900–1066', in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, volume 1, pp. 436–48, (p. 436).
[57] McGurk, 'Anglo-Saxon Gospel-books', p.439.
[58] Netzer, 'Design and Decoration', p. 225.

Anglo-Saxon period, and are 'easily the most numerous of all surviving Latin biblical codices'.[59] They also varied immensely in terms of size and decoration.[60]

The gospel-book's journey from Margaret's possession to the Bodleian Library is not completely traceable, but we have evidence of some intermediate owners of the book. After Margaret herself, the first owner we know of is John Stowe, who wrote his name in it, and who owned the book from 1524 to 1605.[61] Before this, it is possible that the gospel-book was one of the five mentioned in a late fourteenth-century inventory of books at Durham Cathedral Priory.[62] Lord William Howard acquired the book from John Stowe, and subsequently it was bequeathed to the parish library of Brent Eleigh, a small village in Suffolk, from whence the Bodleian Library bought it in 1887.[63]

Margaret's gospel-book is surprisingly small for such a luxurious production, measuring just 170mm x 112mm. It currently has 42 leaves, of which 40 are original. Its small size is, however, in keeping with the personal, devotional use to which gospel-books were put.[64] It gives the impression of a very compact and portable volume, being slightly smaller than a modern paperback, and certainly makes a very convincing favourite book that might have been taken

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59 McGurk, 'Anglo-Saxon Gospel-books', p. 436.
60 Netzer, 'Design and Decoration', p. 226.
61 Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel-book*, p. 99.
62 Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563–1640): Antiquary, Book Collector, and Owner of the Scottish Devotional Manuscript British Library, Arundel 285', *Textual Cultures*, 7:1 (2012), 158–75 (p. 166).
63 Bawcutt, 'Lord William Howard', p. 165. Gameson suggests an alternative history for the book, as follows: Durham Cathedral (by 1383); Clayton Sudlaw (C16th); John Stowe (C16th); Lord William Howard (C17th); Catherine Fane, mother of Fane Edge (1716), who then gave it to Brent Ely Library (C19th), from where it stayed until it was sold to the Bodleian in 1887. Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 167, note 7.
64 There are four surviving comparable gospel-books, owned by Judith of Flanders. These 'sumptuous' gospel-books do appear to be slightly more luxurious productions than Margaret's. They are similarly rubricated in gold ink, but also feature full-page illustrations including, in one, the image of Judith herself presenting a book to Christ (Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek AA.21, f. 2v). The books belonging to Judith of Flanders, though comparable in time and status, are roughly twice the size of Margaret's book. Patrick McGurk and Jane Rosenthal, 'The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, Countess of Flanders: Their Text, Make-Up and Function', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), 251–308, (pp. 255, 289–308).

with Margaret wherever she went. It is made of vellum, probably calfskin.[65] The gospel text it presents is quite short and this brevity suggests very carefully selected texts. It has been re-bound several times. If there were ever a treasure binding like the one Turgot describes Malcolm ordering for Margaret's favourite books, then there is no longer any trace of it now. A seventeenth-century binding with an attractive gilt stamp survives. There are some marks on the flyleaves that appear to have been made by an earlier binding – possibly this seventeenth-century binding – with two clasps, but no evidence of an eleventh-century-style single strap and pin binding.[66] It was rebound in 1980 by Christopher Clarkson, and it is in this modern binding that it survives today.

The text itself is written in a very attractive, professional English variant of Caroline minuscule, a standard script for writing Latin in the early eleventh century.[67] Given the date of the script, it is unlikely that Margaret was the original owner of her gospel-book. She most probably received it as a gift, which perhaps explains why it was so precious to her. It is largely unmarked, devoid of any kind of marginal annotation, but in some places it is marked with neumes – little slash-like annotations above the line – which are musical annotations to indicate chanting and could perhaps indicate a monastic usage at some point in the book's history. There are other places, too, where a small 'x' has been written in the margin. In places, such as f. 16r (the Last Supper) and f. 16v (Peter denies Christ), these appear to indicate important points in the text and might also signal the reader's agreement with the themes or moral message provided by these episodes.[68] The 'x' seems to be a later addition, perhaps as late as the sixteenth century.

[65] Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel-book*, pp. 25–7.
[66] I am grateful to Bruce Barker-Benfield at the Bodleian Library for discussing this with me when I examined the manuscript.
[67] I am grateful to my supervisor Emily Wingfield for discussion of this point.
[68] These 'x' marks likely indicate a kind of non-verbal agreement with the passages. I am grateful to J.D. Sargan at the University of Oxford for discussing these with me.

There is one significant marginal annotation at f. 18v. This is a quotation from Serlo of Wilton's twelfth-century rhyming hexameters, taken from the part where Serlo, having seen a vision of one of his disciples who died young, converts to Christianity. Serlo wakes and, instantly converted, declares: 'Linquo quax ranis, crooke corvis, uana(que) uanis,/ Ad logicam p(er)go qua(m) mortis no(n) timet.'[69] The annotation is interesting furthermore for the errors that it makes in its transmission of Serlo's poem.[70] 'Quax' is supplied for 'coax' ('croaking') and 'crooke' for 'cra' ('cawing'). While 'quax' appears to simply be a misspelling, the annotator has supplied a different onomatopoeic word for the sound of a crow's cry. This suggests that the annotation was copied from memory, and Serlo's poem had become a secular idiom. The quotation is philosophical in tone, and could be of secular significance, but it also alludes to a moment of spiritual awakening in Serlo's works.[71] Here it accompanies the section of Mark's Gospel concerning Christ's trial at the hands of Pontius Pilate. It may be that the annotator saw this as a parallel moment of spiritual awakening, or more likely the annotation echoes Christ's stoical silence in its articulation of a philosophical acceptance of death and a disdain for the 'croaking' and 'cawing' of meaningless voices. Although the hand is clearly sixteenth-century here, Serlo of Wilton was writing in the mid-twelfth century.[72] It is even possible that he is the same 'Magister Serlo' who was in the retinue of Adeliza, the second wife of Henry I, between 1136 and 1147.[73] Whether coincidental or not, more than four hundred years after Margaret owned the gospel-book, a reader, reflecting on the gospel-passage, copied in a strain of early medieval Latin poetry

[69] 'I leave croaking to the frogs, cawing to the crows, and vanity to the vain; I proceed to that logic that fears not the 'therefore' of death.' Transcription and translation is my own.
[70] Serlo's verses read: 'Linquo "coax" ranis, "cra" corvis vanaque vanis/ Ad logicam pergo, que mortis non timet ergo', *Serlon de Wilton: Poèmes Latins*, ed. by Jan Öberg (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965), p. 121.
[71] This little fragment of poetry is also cited in the sermons of Odo of Cheriton (*d.*1246), who was well-known in Scotland. Léopold Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins,* 5 vols (Paris: Librarie de Firmin-Didot et C[ie], 1893–9), vol. 4, p. 341.
[72] I am grateful to Stephanie Appleton at the University of Birmingham for her guidance in reading and analysing this sixteenth-century hand.
[73] A.G. Rigg, 'Serlo of Wilton', *ODNB*, accessed 15.01.16.

written by an abbot of the same abbey where Margaret might have been schooled, and by a man who potentially had some connection with the court over which her daughter was queen.

On f. 20v there is a further annotation in mixed English and Latin which reads 'liber Ihois, thys ys booke'. The name 'Claytoun' appears on f. 30v, accompanied by some large and very scruffy writing that may have been written by an inexperienced hand. The text on ff. 27v/28r is disrupted by a little round mark that seems to have been caused by wax, which suggests that at some point this book was read by candlelight. The final annotation is the signature of John Stowe, which appears on f. 37v.

This volume is decorated throughout very attractively, with full-page illustrations of the Evangelists decorated in blue, green, yellow and orange-brown, with lots of gold. The Evangelists are all clearly distinguished from one another. They hold different writing implements and types of books and sit in different positions. They are also distinguished by colour – Matthew and John are predominantly orange-brown, and Mark and Luke are more blue-green. The style is reminiscent of Ottonian styles of illustration.[74] The illustrations are 'essays in idioms'; that is to say that they express the themes of the gospel-book as an object – piety, literacy, contemplation and devotion – and seem to follow the 'Winchester' style, thus suggesting an early eleventh-century production in the South of England.[75] The book is decorated throughout with gold ink. The pictures of the Evangelists feature a lot of gold ink, many initials are inked with gold, full pages with large gold initials contain several lines of text written in gold ink, and throughout the text, many of the capital letters are inked in gold. The style of the illustrations also suggests an early eleventh-century production in the South of

[74] I am grateful to my supervisor, Emily Wingfield, for discussing this with me.
[75] See J.F. Kershaw, 'The distribution of the 'Winchester' style in late Saxon England: metalwork finds from the Danelaw', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), pp. 254–69, passim.

England.[76] Rushforth suggests that gold ink was a more expensive but less skill-intensive method of applying gold to the page.[77] Whatever the case in terms of relative status, the sheer volume of gold in this little book gives the impression of a luxurious production, fitting to both the sacred nature of the text within and to Margaret's position as queen. For Gameson the book is 'comparatively modest', but given the amount of gold decoration, the professional look of the scribal hand and the full-page illuminated illustrations, Netzer's assertion that it is a very luxurious gospel-book is far more convincing.[78] Certainly, it seems very luxurious and attractive, and precisely the kind of gospel-book one might expect a queen to own. Turgot himself describes it as one of those decorated by Malcolm out of devotion to Margaret, writing that '[h]abuerat librum Evangeliorum, gemmis et auro perornatum, in quo quatuor Evangelistarum imagines pictura auro admixta decorabat'.[79] Although the gold and precious stone binding no longer survives, Margaret's book nonetheless appears to be a high-status production.[80]

There are, then, several general, contextual factors that make Margaret's ownership of this book a likely prospect. The date of the script and the type of illustrations both accord with the time that Margaret was in England. Based on the style of decoration, particularly the full-page

[76] 'The 'Winchester' Style: During the tenth century, two major Anglo-Saxon painting styles developed, largely under the influence of Insular and Carolingian models. The first, or *Winchester*, style is so named because certain of its key examples, such as the benedictional of Saint Ethelwold, were probably made at Winchester, even though the style was diffused throughout the region. It is characterised by an opulent manner of painting, with rich colours and gilding (unless executed in a tinted or outline drawing style), a naturalistic figure style, fluttering, decorative drapery, and a heavy acanthus-like ornament. This style exhibits the influence of Carolingian art, specifically the Court school of Charlemagne, the School of Metz, and the Franco-Saxon School (which employed interlace motifs ultimately of Insular inspiration), and is also indebted to Byzantine art.' British Library online catalogue <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossA.asp> accessed 19.01.16.

[77] Rushforth, *St Margaret's Gospel-book*, p. 43.

[78] Gameson, 'Book Decoration', p. 278. Netzer says 'full-page decorations are introduced in the most sumptuous examples' of gospel-books, but does not make explicit reference to Margaret's gospel-book, 'Design and Decoration', p. 230. Margaret has full-page illustrations of the Evangelists decorated with gold ink at 3v (Matthew) 13v (Mark) 21v (Luke) and 30v (John).

[79] p. 250, '[s]he had a gospel-book adorned with gems and gold, decorated within with gilded pictures of the four Evangelists'.

[80] Gameson suggests that this might be the same book as the *textus argenteus*, a silver-clad book gifted to Durham Cathedral, 'Book Decoration', p. 278.

illustrations of the Evangelists, Margaret likely acquired the book between 1057 and 1068, the years that she spent in England, and then took it with her to Scotland.[81]

What remains to consider is whether the book shows any evidence of water-damage. Views of the water-damage vary. Some scholars have claimed that the image of Matthew that opens his gospel is warped by water-damage.[82] However, from my observation of the manuscript, I have concluded that the cockling of the leaf on this illustration is not beyond what can be expected of vellum over time. There is, however, evidence of water-damage on the end flyleaves in the form of a tidemark. The top right hand corner of f. 37r / left hand corner of f. 38v bear what appear to be the marks of water, and are a little more cockled than the rest of the leaves. From this, it seems reasonable to believe that the manuscript was exposed to at least some degree of water. Furthermore, if it had been fully submerged, then dried out completely and quickly closed tightly and held flat, this would have preserved the leaves. There is no longer any evidence of the silk coverlets used to preserve the illuminated initials that Turgot describes, but these were a common feature of illuminated manuscripts.

So while the book is roughly the appropriate date and status for what we might expect Margaret to have owned, three things link this particular eleventh-century gospel-book to St Margaret of Scotland: the water damage, Turgot's account of the miracle, and the flyleaf poem in the manuscript itself, described above. Of course, the presence of water-damaged leaves does not and cannot prove that the book was submerged and restored, or indeed whether any "miraculous" recovery from a river was made. It does, however, provide an intriguing and

[81] Gameson, 'Book Decoration', p. 271.
[82] Rushforth (p. 52) suggests that the endleaves are without signs of water damage, but that signs of this may have lessened over time; F. Madan argues that 'a leaf at each end of the book shows unmistakeable crinkling from immersion in the water'; *Books in Manuscript* (London, 1893), p. 124. Gameson only sees water damage on f. 3 where he deems the colours to have bled; 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 167, note 2.

powerful physical link between saint and book. The hagiographer who wrote that he refused 'nihil, supra id quod est, addere' ('[to] add [anything] to what happened') shares only a miracle that links to a surviving water-damaged book.[83] Though patterned by hagiographical precedent, the 'hagiographical truth' suggested by the single remaining water-damaged leaf offers just enough physical evidence to transform the book into a quasi-relic and link Margaret's sanctity both to the world in the physical form of the book and to God's Word in the form of the gospel text.[84]

Margaret's gospel-book offered textual as well as visual examples of appropriate devotional behaviour. The text of the gospel-book is highly selective, and by no means provides a full account of the gospels, but rather presents the reader with carefully chosen passages.[85] There is strong evidence that this kind of selection process was done for particular reasons.[86] The passages selected for Margaret's own reading shed light both on what may have been her own interests, and what might have been considered proper or useful for a queen, or indeed any woman, to be focusing on from their reading of Scripture. The readings in the manuscript are arranged according to the order in which they appear in the gospels, rather than in liturgical order, and appear to be designed to be read individually, rather than in sequence or in one sitting.[87] It contains the start of all four gospels, and a complete Passion story for each gospel. As well as these, it contains the feasts for St Cecilia (Matthew 20: 17–19) and St Andrew (Matthew 4: 18–22). Gameson has suggested a particularly 'Scottish' slant to the selection of texts in the

[83] p. 235.
[84] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 4.
[85] For a full list of the contents of the MS, see Appendix 1. See also Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 150.
[86] For example, Judith of Flanders had four surviving gospel-books, each of which has a different 'package' of gospel texts. Like Margaret's book, these were richly and beautifully decorated. See McGurk and Rosenthal, 'Judith, Countess of Flanders', pp. 251–308.
[87] Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 152.

gospel-book owing to the inclusion of these two feasts.[88] This is an intriguing suggestion, given the distinctly English 'Winchester'-style illustrations, since it would imply a degree of cultural contact between Southern England and Scotland in the eleventh century, or even Margaret's involvement in production. However, given the likely date of copying, the latter seems improbable, and the former a stretch since St Cecilia has no special Scottish connection and St Andrew, though Scottish patron saint, was commonly venerated as one of the Apostles, and was universally popular.[89]

Instead, the volume contains selections that appear to be aimed at female readers. The parables, miracle stories and beatitudes are omitted but alongside the feasts of St Cecilia and St Andrew it maintains readings for all of the Marian feast days. It also contains the story of Mary and Martha, alluded to in Turgot's biography of Margaret. In this selection, then, appear many models for female – especially queenly – behaviour: Mary and Martha as active and contemplative life, and Virgin Mary as ideal queen, mother and woman. These three models of female behaviour find analogues in the hagiographic descriptions of Margaret's own life.[90] Examination of Margaret's gospel-book offers a glimpse into the life of Margaret herself. It reveals some small part of what Margaret was reading, and it seems to reflect, in some ways, writing about her: the same models that shape her literary representation appear to have been offered for Margaret's own instructional reading. Margaret's gospel-book would go on to become part of the iconography of her sainthood – for example in the Blackadder prayerbook illustration pictured on page 7 of this thesis, and in the stained-glass window in her chapel in Edinburgh Castle – anchoring her sanctity and ideal queenship alike to her role as reader of Scripture.

[88] Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 152.
[89] Tom Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 5.
[90] See above, p. 32.

The Celtic Psalter

Turgot's *Vita,* discussed in Chapter 2 below, describes Margaret's active use of a psalter in her prayer and spiritual preparation. According to her *Vita*, during the 40 days before Christmas and during Lent Margaret would read through the Matins of the Holy Trinity, the Matins of the Holy Cross and the Matins of the Virgin Mary before reading the Office of the Dead, then '[p]salterum inchoavit, nec, quousque ad finem perduceret, cessavit'.[91] This description of Margaret's devotion to the psalter is a particularly attractive image to consider given the survival of the eleventh-century 'Celtic Psalter' believed to have belonged to Margaret, now Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Library, MS 56.[92] The Celtic Psalter is one of the oldest surviving Scottish books. It is the oldest book in the University of Edinburgh Library's collection and survives in near-pristine internal condition, which indicates it was very highly valued and cared for by its previous owners. It is written in Celtic script and relatively modestly decorated, designed for private devotional use, and small enough to be carried in the pocket.[93] The text itself is St Jerome's version of the gospels, translated from the Hebrew, in what appears to be an Irish version.[94] It is hard to determine the provenance of the manuscript more precisely than this, or to trace its ownership history since it contains no mark of ownership from before the sixteenth century.[95] Throughout the text there are Celtic-style decorations, and later Anglo-Saxon 'Winchester'-style full page illustrations have been added to the book subsequently. It is thought to have belonged to St Margaret partly on account of the similarity of these to the pictures of the

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[91] p. 248, 'she began the psalter, and she did not stop until she reached the end.'

[92] The psalter has been part of the university's collection since at least 1636, when there is a record of it in a manuscript catalogue. Notes in the volume indicate that it might have been held in Aberdeen, and the university library's catalogue suggests that it might even have been copied in a Scottish monastery, though the text of the gospels appears to be Irish and the added decoration Anglo-Saxon. University of Edinburgh Library Catalogue, 'Celtic Psalter' <http://collections.ed.ac.uk/iconics/record/51400> accessed 20.01.16.

[93] Martin McNamara and Maurice Sheehy, 'Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600–1200)', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 73 (1973), 201–98, (p. 268).

[94] MacNamara and Sheehy, 'Psalter Text', p. 264.

[95] Catherine. R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1916), p. 100.

Evangelists in her gospel-book, depicted in the same 'Winchester' style.[96] However, although there are some broad similarities in style, the full-page illuminated plate at fol. 50r in the Celtic Psalter is of much cruder design than the full-page illustrations in Margaret's gospel-book and certainly was not produced by the same artist. While the plate appears to be in broadly the same style as the full-page illustrations in Margaret's book, this is not enough to convincingly suggest that they were even produced in the same place or as part of the same system of production.

The book contains many beautiful Celtic decorations, which take the form of marginal flourishes and zoomorphic initals – possibly dragons – decorated in bright colours with purple, blue, green, yellow and orange ink. This coloured decoration extends to enlarged letters on the left margin of the page that are the first letters of roughly alternate lines. There are also small swirl-like decorations filling short lines which are filled with blue and orange. Overall the manuscript gives the impression of being carefully made without being opulent. The care and attractiveness of the decoration suggest a valued book, but one markedly less lavish than the gospel-book. The psalter contains a later addition of a full page gilded illustration on f. 50r, a page decorated with the opening words of Psalm 51, 'Quid gloriaris' ('why dost thou glory'), in large gold letters, and smaller gold script. This full-page illustration is in the 'Winchester' style, which is partly what has contributed to its attribution to Margaret. The Celtic Psalter has written later additions, as well as decorative ones.[97] A prayer is added in an early thirteenth-century, or just possibly a late twelfth-

[96] University of Edinburgh, Western Medieval Manuscripts Collection online <http://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/UoEwmm~1~1~11812~100016:Celtic-Psalter,-11th-C-,-Front-cove?sort=Work_Title%2CWork_Creator_Name%2CWork_Shelfmark&qvq=q:Celtic%2BPsalter%2C%2B11th%2BC.;sort:Work_Title%2CWork_Creator_Name%2CWork_Shelfmark;lc:UoEwmm~1~1&mi=0&trs=304> accessed 25.10.14.

[97] The use of gold in Margaret's gospel-book is cited as a typical example of Anglo-Saxon artistic taste in C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), pp. 34–5. This gold plate is similar in colouring and style. The combination of gold and bright colour also bears some similarity to description of the murals of Wilton Abbey, Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 107.

century, hand at f. 49r, just before the inserted decoration.[98] At the end of the manuscript more text is added (142r–143r). This is the work of a much later scribe writing an imitative script. The writing dates from no earlier than the sixteenth century, since the scribe is accustomed to writing 'i' with a dot-shaped diacritical mark rather than an oblique hairline stroke; it could even be from as late as the seventeenth century.[99] The text supplies the missing final words of the final verse of Ps. 148 – 'populo appropinquanti sibi' ('a people approaching to him') – and Pss. 149–50. The same hand supplies the missing text at the beginning of Ps. 1 at the start of the psalter. It is possible that John Reid, chancellor of Aberdeen diocese from 1537, whose ownership inscription is recorded on f. 143v, might have had these missing elements added.[100]

There is less direct evidence that this book belonged to Margaret than there is for the gospel-book. However, it does share some similarities with her gospel-book, in its decoration and with reports of her own personal devotional practices, insofar as it shows care and attention paid to Scripture without being lavish.[101] Although the full-page illustrations here are inferior to those in the gospel-book, the presence of any full-page illustration in a psalter indicates that it is a relatively high-end production.[102] So, though not luxurious on the scale of the gospel-book, this book was clearly valued and produced with care.

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98 Holmes dates this too late, identifying it as a fourteenth-century hand; Stephen Mark Holmes, 'Catalogue of Liturgical Books and Fragments in Scotland before 1560', *Innes Review*, 62.2 (2011), 127–212, (p. 136).

99 I am grateful to Tessa Webber of the University of Cambridge for discussing the MS's additional material with me (Private Correspondence, 15.11.14).

100 Masterpieces from the research collections of Edinburgh University Library: <http://www.docs.is.ed.ac.uk/docs/lib-archive/bgallery/Gallery/researchcoll/11thCentury.html> accessed 01.08.16.

101 I will discuss Margaret's relationship with wealth and luxury further in Chapter 2, but for further examination of this theme see Joanna Huntington, 'St Margaret of Scotland: Conspicuous Consumption, Genealogical Inheritance, and Post-Conquest Authority', *Journal of Scottish Historical* Studies, 33.2 (2013), pp. 149–64.

102 Netzer, 'Design and Decoration', p. 230.

Margaret's Letters

Evidence for Margaret's literacy also survives in the form of a letter written to her by Archbishop Lanfranc. From this letter, preserved in the published collection of Lanfranc's correspondence, we can see how her literacy was put to both spiritual and practical use. While the extent of their communication is unknown and none of Margaret's letters remain, Lanfranc's extant letter to Margaret is warm in tone, and compliments her on the beauty of her Latin. Although it is probable that Lanfranc corresponded with other queens and with abbesses in his time as Archbishop, this letter to Margaret is the only surviving letter of his that is written to a woman; no other queens' and no abbesses' correspondence remains. Lanfranc's collected correspondence, mostly to kings, abbots and archdeacons, reveals an involvement in secular as well as ecclesiastical politics. That he would correspond with Margaret is indicative of the advisory role she had the potential to play in both spheres.[103]

The letter itself appears to be the remnant of a complex set of international negotiations which encompass Lanfranc's position to Margaret as spiritual advisor and the arrangements for establishing a daughter-house of Christ Church, Canterbury in Dunfermline. Both of these are pertinent to the modernisation of the Scottish Church – that is, bringing it into line with Rome, an endeavour in which Margaret is seen to be involved by various historians and historical sources.[104] Although it would certainly have been possible for Lanfranc to have discussed these matters with Malcolm, he does so directly with Margaret. Whether this reflects the intercessory

[103] See *The Letters of Lanfranc*.

[104] I discuss this in more depth in my chapter on the *Vita*; Margaret's reforming influence is a matter of ongoing debate, with some believing that Margaret was both catalyst and organiser of Scottish church reform, others who see her role as more minimal and based on influence rather than action, and even those who believe that Margaret's role as Queen had no effect on the Scottish Church at all. See Chapter 2, p. 95.

role traditionally taken by queens in support of the Church, or whether it reflects Margaret's particular role as Anglo-Saxon queen in Anglo-Scottish relationships cannot be said for sure.[105]

Most striking perhaps is the warmth of tone in Lanfranc's letter to Margaret. The majority of Lanfranc's letters are terse and businesslike in tone, and Cowdrey characterises the Archbishop as being rather reserved and emotionally unforthcoming.[106] Certainly, this does not seem to be the case in his written communication with Margaret. He repeats her request – 'in filiam spiritualiter habendam precaris' – and declares '[d]ehinc igitur sim pater tuus, et tu mea filia esto'.[107] Furthermore, Lanfranc commends the quality of Margaret's Latin, effusively expressing the belief that her words are so sweet that they are inspired by God: 'O quanta iocunditate uerba profluunt quae diuino Spiritu inspirata procedunt! Credo enim non a te sed per te dicta esse quae scripseras.'[108] While it could be argued that praise of expression is formulaic, nowhere else in his surviving letters does Lanfranc praise the beauty of expression of his addressee. Though Margaret's now-lost letter was most probably written down by a scribe and could have been dictated in another language, Lanfranc's specific praise of Margaret's Latin suggests that he assumed she would – and could – have composed beautiful Latin herself. Margaret as queen was a purely secular figure in her lifetime, and yet her Latin expression is described as 'diuino Spiritu inspirata' ('[uttered] by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit') – quite a commendation from an archbishop. Of course, there is no way to prove that Margaret composed the letter herself, but Lanfranc's assumption that she did and the effusive terms of his praise suggest that queens could and did compose Latin letters, and that among these Margaret's was strikingly well-written.

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[105] This has been discussed at length by Jo-Ann MacNamara in her article '*Imitatio Helenae*: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship in the Early Middle Ages', in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. by Sandro Sticca (New York: MRTS, 1996), pp. 51–80. In this article, MacNamara argues that there was a kind of royal 'division of labour' where martial activities were the King's concern, and the Queen was responsible for taking care of the interests of the church.

[106] H.E. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 226.

[107] 'You ask me to accept you as my spiritual daughter'; '[f]rom now on then may I be your father and be you my daughter', pp. 160–1.

[108] 'With what holy cheer the words flow on which are uttered by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit! I am convinced that what you had written was said not by you but through you', pp. 160–1.

Margaret's learning and Latinity may have allowed her to participate in church reform in Scotland, even if she did not have such a revolutionary effect as Turgot describes, and her written correspondence with Lanfranc shows the practical effect her letters to the prominent churchman had on the religious culture of Scotland in her time as Queen. This strongly suggests a culture in which the literacy of women in general and queens in particular was more than just a symbol for piety and religious devotion.

Margaret's daughter Matilda, herself a noted patron of the arts, clearly sought to emulate her mother's relationship with Lanfranc in her own (Latin) correspondence with Archbishop Anselm.[109] Despite the fact that Matilda also figures Anselm as a spiritual father, the tone of Matilda's correspondence with Anselm is markedly different from the surviving letter of Lanfranc to her mother Margaret. Anselm adopts the attitude of a spiritual father in his communications in Matilda, but their correspondence appears much more businesslike, and closely adheres to the conventional relationship between queen and clergy, that of the Queen as intercessor with the King on behalf of the Church.[110]

Matilda writes of her hope of Anselm's return to her husband Henry I's court – which is discussed in letters 318 and 319 between Henry I and Anselm, during which Anselm appears to have refused to return. Matilda writes, 'deo annuente et me qua potero suggerente vobis fiet commodior atque concordios'.[111] The role of queen as intercessor for the Church is typical of the

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[109] For fuller discussion of Matilda's role as literary patroness, see: Elizabeth Tyler, 'Crossing Conquests: Polyglot Royal Women and Literary Culture in Eleventh-Century England', in *Conceptualising Multilingualism in Medieval England c.800–c.1250*, ed. by Elizabeth Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 171–96; Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: a Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003). It is interesting to note, furthermore, that the Dunfermline manuscript calls Turgot's *Vita* an 'epistola' ('letter') 'quam transmisit mathilde regine anglorum' ('which he sent to Matilda, the queen of the English'), Keene, The 'Dunfermline' *Vita*, edited in *St Margaret*, p. 136. This is deeply suggestive of the letter as mode of communication between queens and high-ranking churchmen.

[110] MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*', p. 63.

[111] 'With God's help and my suggestions, as far as I am able, he [King Henry I] may become more welcoming and compromising towards you'. Latin text from *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, Opera Omnia*, ed. by F.S. Schmitt, vol. 5 (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1951), Letter 320, p. 249; translation

St Helena model of idealised queenship; this model described the role of queen as religious counterpart to a warrior-king, advocating for the interests of the Church.[112] But this is not the only content of the letters. It appears that Matilda was not as wholehearted a patron of the Church as her mother was. Anselm writes to admonish her (Letter 346) saying that those churches 'quae sunt in vestra potestate, vos cognoscat ut matrem, ut nutricem, ut benignam dominam, et reginam'.[113] This tone of admonition is the result of Matilda taxing the churches in her care too heavily.[114] It seems that Matilda was receptive to Anselm's correction, though, as in his next letter (347) he commends her 'humilis susceptio correptionis' ('humble acceptance of disapproval').[115]

What is clear from these letters is that Matilda and Margaret were personally involved in negotiations of power between Church and Crown during their respective periods as queen. Matilda fulfilled a role as protector of church interests and intercessor on their behalf with her husband Henry. She also seems to have had a degree of financial and political control over the church taxes. Her extensive communications with Anselm via Latin letter also suggest an active engagement in these affairs, and it seems likely – given her Wilton upbringing – that she would have understood Anselm's Latin and composed in Latin herself.[116]

Beyond readerly authority and written communication, queens could also access power and influence through literary patronage and the gift of books. Margaret's close predecessor, Emma of Normandy, demonstrated her favour through the gift of luxurious manuscripts to churches

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from *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. by Walter Fröhlich, vol. 3 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 19994), p. 29. All subsequent references are to these editions.

[112] MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*', p. 51–2.

[113] Epistle 346, p. 284; 'which are in your power should know you as mother, as nurse, as kind lady and queen', p. 75

[114] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 116.

[115] p. 285; p. 77.

[116] Matilda was raised in Wilton under the care of her aunt Christina. Here she would have learned Latin and probably also French.

during her reign.[117] As valuable high-status objects, luxury books were the 'currency of political power' for queens, both favouring the recipient institution with a valuable gift and bolstering the giving queen's reputation for piety and patronage of the Church.[118] There is some evidence of Margaret acting as such a patron. Margaret is recorded as having gifted a 'textus argenteus' – literally a silver book, but indicating a treasure-bound book of any kind – to the shrine of St Cuthbert at Durham Cathedral.[119] This may or may not have been her miraculous gospel-book.

Whether this was a contributory factor, in part or whole, to close relations between Durham Cathedral and the Scottish royal family is unclear. What is known is that Malcolm III was the only layperson present at the laying of the foundation stone in Durham Cathedral in 1093, the year that he and Margaret died, and Turgot, who was possibly Margaret's onetime confessor, later became prior there.[120] The gift of a richly decorated book to a Northern English cathedral, followed by Malcolm's presence at the foundation-laying and Turgot's later appointment, is nonetheless suggestive of a culture in which a woman's gift of a book might open political doors – albeit in ecclesiastical circles. It is furthermore suggestive of the Scottish link with the North of England, and particularly with Malcolm and Margaret and their dynasty, which I discuss more fully in Chapter 3.

Images of Margaret Reading

In addition to the consistent textual representations of her literacy, Margaret is depicted as a reader in visual images. From the fourteenth century onward women were often depicted as

117 T.A. Heslop, 'The Production of *de luxe* Manuscripts and the Patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 151–95, (p. 158).
118 Gameson, 'Book Decoration', p. 278.
119 Gameson, 'Book Decoration', p. 278.
120 Richard Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. by Richard Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2005), pp. 27–64, (p. 39).

reading and/or holding books, but in Margaret's time this was much more exceptional.[121] Margaret is often represented in visual culture as an active reader. In the arms of the Queensferry – a ferry service for pilgrims to St Andrews that Margaret patronised – Margaret is pictured holding a book, visually equating her religiously-motivated act of helping the pilgrims with her pious reading. There is potential evidence for the depiction of Margaret with a book in England as well as Scotland in the form of an early thirteenth-century wall-painting in the refectory at Horsham St Faith in Norfolk.[122] Although the priory itself was founded by Robert and Sybilla Fitzwalter in honour of St Faith, who they believed had freed them from imprisonment after they were captured during a pilgrimage to Rome, on the upper part of the east wall there is a painting of a female figure who may be St Margaret.[123] This woman is crowned, holds a book in her left hand, and in her right hand holds a staff or sceptre with a bird sitting atop it. St Faith is more commonly depicted with the instrument of her torture – a grill – and the bird on the sceptre recalls the heraldic bird that was associated with both Edward the Confessor and, later, with Margaret herself.[124] These wall-paintings were done in the half-century that followed Margaret's canonisation, and if they do represent St Margaret, would stand as evidence that she was also distinctive in England as a bookish saint. However, the paintings depict more largely the *Vita* of St Faith, so it is probable that this is simply an alternative representation of St Faith.

The most famous example of Margaret reading is the miniature in the Blackadder prayerbook (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 10271, f. 101r).[125] The Blackadder prayerbook was written for Robert Blackadder, first Archbishop of Glasgow (*c.*1445–1508).[126] It is a small illuminated volume containing prayers and devotions. It was probably both written and decorated in France or the Low Countries. When Robert Blackadder died, it passed to Alexander

[121] Driver, 'Mirrors of a Collective Past', p. 75.
[122] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 125.
[123] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 125.
[124] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 125.
[125] Pictured on p. 7 of this thesis.
[126] Leslie J. Macfarlane, 'Robert Blackadder', *ODNB*, accessed 01.08.16.

Stewart, Archbishop of St Andrews, and in the sixteenth century, following his death, it was owned by Alexander Lord Livingston.[127] Images of women reading were more common in books which either were commissioned for particular women or were aimed at a female audience.[128] In the case of the Blackadder prayerbook, the focus appears to be on Scottishness rather than on a female readership, but this nonetheless would offer any female reader of the book a suitably pious mirror for her own activities. In this picture, we can see Margaret represented as queen, saint, and careful reader: she wears a crown, her head is encircled by a halo, and she wears a look of quiet contemplation as she considers the book in her hands. This symbolically aligns all three aspects of Margaret – her sainthood and ideal queenship are both contingent on her role as reader and devotee of sacred texts. We might also consider her clothing. Beneath a red shawl, Margaret's blue dress and white head covering are reminiscent of popular representations of the Virgin Mary.

Margaret's visual similarity to the Virgin Mary holds greater significance than simply glorifying Margaret the saint. By the time the Blackadder prayerbook was made in the late fifteenth century, images of the Virgin as studious reader were common, and she was heavily associated with literacy.[129] The Virgin Mary is an important model available to queens, since her status as Queen of Heaven suggests a spiritual parallel for earthly queenship, and a divine protection approaching that of a king.[130] These representations of Margaret may have made conscious reference to this trend of representing female saints in the pose of reading and aligned with the Virgin Mary and/or St Anne as examples of pious readers and good mothers. Certainly, in the fourteenth century, in manuscripts aimed at or belonging to women, '[r]eaders represented in late medieval

[127] Friends of the National Libraries website <http://www.friendsofnationallibraries.org.uk/blackadder-prayerbook> accessed 21.12.14.
[128] Driver, 'Mirrors of a Collective Past', p. 78.
[129] Smith, 'Scriba Femina', p. 22.
[130] Pauline Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Past and Present*, 163 (1999), 3–35, (p. 21).

art may also be nuns or laywomen who are, in turn, consciously modelling themselves on female saints and the Virgin'.[131]

The depiction of Margaret reading also serves as a visual reminder of the miracle of her gospel-book. As discussed above, Gameson has suggested that Margaret's bookishness in the *Vita* and subsequent representations serve only to to emphasise her piety. He suggests that, because learning to read was synonymous with learning to read the Bible, the depiction of a woman reading was one of a pious rather than a literate woman.[132] I would challenge this. The representation of Margaret as both literate and bookish is consistent and emphatic, showing her as an active reader rather than just as a contemplative book-owner. Sheingorn argues that '[w]orks of art in which women hold open books strongly suggest a culture in which women read, and rather than interpret the presence of a book as a general indication of female piety, as is often done, we should take it as evidence of a literate woman, an owner of books, and possibly even a patroness'.[133] The representation of Margaret as an active reader is both biographical and symbolic. It both shows her as a reader and represents her commitment to pious learning and religious devotion.

Margaret's literacy is essential to her sainthood and also to her example as an ideal queen to her daughter. Visual imagery of St Anne teaching the Virgin to read in the fourteenth century was on the rise, despite there being no textual source for it, and offered a spiritual analogue for mothers teaching their daughters to read.[134] But even before this, there seems to be some precedent of mothers passing on their literary practices to younger women in their family; the *Vita Ædwardi*, for example, seems to have been written following the example of Emma of Normandy's *Encomium* (Emma was Edith's mother-in-law), and Emma's mother Gunnor commissioned

131 Driver, 'Mirrors of a Collective Past', p. 89.
132 Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', p. 163.
133 Sheingorn, 'Wise Mother', p. 75.
134 Sheingorn, 'Wise Mother', p. 69.

Dudo of St Quentin to write a history, providing a model for her daughter's intervention in eleventh-century historiography.[135] Furthermore, in terms of religious iconography, the emphasis on the book and teaching and the image of the highly literate mother that Turgot provides suggests a close association with the *logos*: the Scripture and the Word of God. For Margaret (as represented by Turgot) as for St Anne, the mother's duty is to pass on a literacy that is both practical and spiritual.

Conclusion

Margaret's literacy – both symbolic and actual – is intrinsic to her unique significance as both queen and saint. The symbolic aspect of her literacy aligns her both with the Virgin Mary herself and with St Anne as a teacher of pious children, and her devotion to the physical object of the book represents her devotion to the Word of God, as recorded in the Gospels. But Margaret's literacy and frequent representation holding a book is not just an emblem of her sanctity and piety. It is clear from Margaret's letters to Lanfranc, her gift of a book to Durham and the Wilton education to which she sent her daughter, that Margaret's literacy in particular and the literacy of queens in general had a real, political significance in the eleventh century. Through her letters and her books Margaret was able to establish connections with important churches and prominent churchmen, and to effect at least some degree of change within the Scottish Church, even if this only extended as far as establishing a monastic house at Dunfermline.

Margaret is connected only with religious books: the *textus argenteus* at Durham, the Celtic Psalter, and her own gospel-book. This does not diminish, however, the extent to which her religious

[135] Elizabeth Tyler, 'Talking About History in Eleventh-Century England: the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the Court of Harthacnut', *Early Medieval Europe*, 13: 4 (2005), 359–83, (p. 376).

authority might have given her influence in the political world. In the following chapter on Turgot's *Vita*, I will discuss how Margaret is represented as making real changes to Scottish laws, something she is only able to do because she acts from a position of authority specifically and emphatically grounded in her devotion to the Word of God and the teachings of the Scripture. Her pious literacy both figures her as an ideal queen, devoted to the Word of God and acting on behalf of the Church in political matters, and gives her a 'safe' avenue in which to exercise political influence.

Although Margaret's literacy exists under the aegis of St Helena (as an intercessor on behalf of the Church) and St Anne (as a saintly mother educating her children in order to shape them into future kings or ideal marriage prospects), she is nonetheless conspicuous among women of her time for being represented without exception as literate and bookish. Even Emma of Normandy – who is famously depicted in a role of cooperative power with Cnut on the frontispiece of the *Encomium Emmae* – is never presented actually reading, or with the same kind of literate authority as Margaret.

Margaret's own gospel-book is an enticing symbol of all of these aspects combined. It functions both as an illustration of her literal activity in life and her symbolic devotion to God's word; it suggests Margaret's own literacy and international influence (being a seemingly Scottish-focused book with Anglo-Saxon illustrations) and constitutes the focus for her cult. Through it, we might imagine the kind of queen with whom Lanfranc corresponds: one learned but also humble, one powerful but also seeking guidance, and one pious and devoted to God, but deeply concerned with the nature of the kingdom over which she is queen.

Chapter 2: Turgot's *Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ*

The life and saintly deeds of St Margaret of Scotland are preserved today in a Latin prose *Vita* ostensibly written by Margaret's own confessor Turgot, who was later Bishop of St Andrews (*c.*1050–1115).[1] Composed in the very early twelfth century just a few years after Margaret's death, the *Vita* survives in three later versions, two long and one short. The long versions are London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius D. iii ff. 179v–186r, dated between the fourth quarter of the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097, ff. 1v–17v; the latter text is known as the 'Dunfermline' *Vita*, a thirteenth-century redaction surviving in a fifteenth-century MS compilation.[2] It also survives in a shortened version as part of John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Anglie* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E. i, ff. 11v–13v, which is dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. In the two long versions of the *Vita*, the full text comprises an introduction with an address to Margaret's daughter Matilda, wife of Henry I of England, and four chapters which cover Margaret's noble lineage and marriage to Malcolm III, her piety and Church reform, the miracle of her gospel-book, and finally her saintly death. Although framed as a *Vita*, or saint's life, Turgot's *Vita* was written more than a hundred years before Margaret's canonisation in 1250, and despite drawing on several hagiographical tropes, it does not fit many of the usual patterns of hagiography. [3]

The *Vita* was written in the very early twelfth century against a political backdrop of troubled succession, broken family lines, and uncertain inheritance. While rule in Scotland had been much more stable since the beginning of Malcolm III's 35-year reign in 1058, the sudden deaths of

[1] Robert Bartlett, 'Turgot', *ODNB*, accessed 01.03.16.
[2] For full details of this manuscript, see Chapter 4.
[3] Melissa M. Coll-Smith in her 2010 thesis, 'The *Scottish Legendary* and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval Scotland' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2011), discusses how Turgot's *Vita* relates to the genre of hagiography more fully, pp. 68–80.

Malcolm, Margaret, and their son and designated heir Edward in just a few days in 1093 sparked four years of conflict and uncertainty.[4] While Malcolm lived, he had named Edward, his eldest son with Margaret, as his heir, but there were many other viable candidates for the throne, including Malcolm's sons with his first wife, Ingeborg, and his brother, Donald.[5] It was Donald who seized the throne in the days following Malcom and Margaret's deaths, and it would take four years and a series of conflicts before Edgar, the fourth of Malcolm and Margaret's sons, established himself on the Scottish throne.[6] This conflict saw much family infighting: not only were Margaret's brother Edgar Æthling and her son Edgar pitted against Edgar's uncle on his father's side, but Malcolm and Margaret's second son, Edmund, sided with his uncle Donald.[7] Likewise, in England, Henry I rose to the throne under dubious circumstances. Henry was the third of William the Conqueror's sons, and his father left Normandy to his eldest son, Robert Curthose, and England to his second son, William Rufus.[8] When William Rufus died in a hunting accident, Henry took advantage of Robert's absence on crusade and travelled immediately to Winchester and had himself crowned.[9] As we shall see, all of this is entirely ignored by Turgot, who chooses to present Margaret (and by extension, Matilda) as having uncomplicated and partially Norman heritage and makes no mention of Henry I besides identifying Matilda as Queen of the English. The perfect family of divinely-appointed monarchs and obedient children presented by the *Vita* tidies away any hint of conflict, uncertainty or familial fracture. Malcolm's first marriage, the children of that marriage, his brother, and the succession crisis that followed his and Margaret's deaths never appears, but this does not mean that they were not of interest to Turgot, nor that they were unimportant in the composition of the *Vita*.

4 G.W.S. Barrow, 'Malcolm III', *ODNB*, accessed 10.06.16.
5 Richard Oram, *David I: The King who Made Scotland* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), p. 39.
6 A.A.M. Duncan, 'Edgar', *ODNB*, accessed 10.06.16.
7 Oram, *David I*, p. 44.
8 C. Warren Hollister, 'Henry I', *ODNB*, accessed 20.06.16.
9 Hollister, 'Henry I', 26.06.16.

Since the Cotton Tiberius D. iii version of the *Vita* – the 'Cotton' *Vita* – contains an address to Margaret's daughter and details about Scottish court life, Baker suggests that 'the core of the *Life* is an eyewitness account of Margaret by someone who knew her well', and is therefore a credible account of her life.[10] Turgot's address to Matilda, which I discuss in more detail below, is cited as evidence of this, but Turgot's stated intention is not simply to rehearse the facts of her mother's life, but rather to provide her with an example after which she can pattern her own future behaviour. The *Vita* is a carefully crafted hagiographic and exemplary text that not only promotes its patron's mother as a saint but also promotes the kind of queenship Matilda herself practised: that of a pious but politically active queen. Framing an account of her mother's active and politically-involved queenship as an advice-text implicitly both encourages and gives Matilda licence to behave in the same manner.

Over the course of this chapter, through a consideration of the circumstances of the composition of the *Vita* and its use of biblical, clerical and hagiographic tropes, I will demonstrate that this biography of Margaret which has so often been considered personal is also deeply political, both within and beyond the new Anglo-Norman court of Henry I. Certainly, in later years it had a role to play in the canonisation of St Margaret, as I discuss more fully in Chapter 4, but in its twelfth-century context, the *Vita* served both to legitimise the royal line that had been restored in the marriage of Matilda and Henry I, and to smooth over the political difficulties and contested successions that had characterised both the English and the Scottish courts in the eleventh century. The story of a mother written for her daughter, it is also a tale of two queens, and as such the personal and political are inextricably intertwined.

[10] Derek Baker, '"A Nursery of Saints": St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, l978), pp. 119–41, (p. 132).

I will take into account the early date of the *Vita* and the professed closeness of the author to his subject alongside the aforementioned hagiographic conventions and biblical models that have shaped this political text that purports to be a personal portrait of Margaret. Some work on this has already been undertaken by Catherine Keene in her recent biography.[11] Keene introduces the idea of 'hagiographical truth' to her analysis of the historical Margaret: the idea that hagiographic conventions express a 'truth' if not an actuality about Margaret's life.[12] Keene nonetheless argues that 'Margaret's *Vita* adheres more to actual events than hagiolatrous imagination'.[13] In this chapter I will demonstrate that much of the material that appears anecdotal is in fact carefully assembled from clerical, biblical and hagiographical tropes. This does not mean that this *Vita* does not present known historical facts about Margaret, but that the historical Margaret is impossible to distinguish from a combination of meaningful tropes and models.

Dating the *Vita*

As already noted, the *Vita* survives in three manuscript versions: two long, one short. The long versions are MS Cotton Tiberius D. iii ('Cotton' *Vita*) and Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097 ('Dunfermline' *Vita*), and the short version is London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius E i ('Tynemouth' *Vita*). Both the 'Cotton' and 'Tynemouth' *Vitae* were copied in England, whereas the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* was copied in Dunfermline Abbey in Scotland.

[11] Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
[12] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 4. Keene is unique in using the term 'hagiographical truth', but there is a significant amount of critical work that discusses the intersection between hagiographic tropes and biographical writing in the lives of saints. See also: Sarah Salih, 'Introduction: Saints, Cults and *Lives* in Late Medieval England', in *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography*, ed. by Sarah Salih (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), pp. 1–23; Emma Campbell, *Medieval Saints' Lives: The Gift, Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), esp. 'Introduction', pp. 1–22; Michael E. Goodich, *Lives and Miracles of the Saints: Studies in Medieval Latin Hagiography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[13] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 4.

There is some critical debate surrounding the date of the three different versions of the *Vita*. While the 'Dunfermline' long version is consistently held to be the latest, scholarly opinion of the priority of the 'Cotton' *Vita* and the 'Tynemouth' *Vita* is divided. Baker argues that the 'Tynemouth' *Vita* is earlier on the basis that it is more purely hagiographical in its excision of details of court life and its third-person narrative, and he proposes that the 'Cotton' *Vita* contains what he holds to be anachronisms. He suggests that the 'Cotton' *Vita* was expanded as part of the 1250s' canonisation proceedings that saw Margaret made a saint.[14] Lois Huneycutt refutes this on several grounds.[15] The 'Tynemouth' manuscript, Cotton Tiberius MS E. i, is later than Cotton Tiberius MS D. iii, the manuscript of the 'Cotton' *Vita*, and throughout his sanctilogium John of Tynemouth abbreviates and excerpts his sources as a matter of course. Though this latter point is not hard evidence, the former indicates that the 'Cotton' *Vita* must predate the 'Tynemouth'.[16] The 'Tynemouth' *Vita* is considerably shorter, covering only four folio pages and accompanied by a genealogical table that goes up to the fourteenth century. It moreover contains a final paragraph excerpted from Ælred of Rievaulx's 1153–4 *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, and so could not have been written in its current form directly after Margaret's death, as Baker argues.[17]

Baker's dating of the short 'Tynemouth' *Vita* relies on references to St Cuthbert (*c.*635–687), Edward the Confessor (1003x5–1066), and Margaret's son Edgar (*d.*1107). The 'Cotton' *Vita* alludes to St Cuthbert's uncorrupted body supposedly discovered in 1104 and refers to Edgar as reigning King.[18] The 'Tynemouth' *Vita* has no reference to Cuthbert and refers to Edgar only as

[14] Baker, 'St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', pp. 129–32.
[15] Lois L. Huneycutt, 'The Idea of the Perfect Princess: the *Life of St Margaret* in the Reign of Matilda II (1100–1118)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 12 (1989), pp. 81–97, passim.
[16] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 82.
[17] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 82.
[18] Of the priests that attended Margaret on her deathbed, Turgot says: 'post mortem reginæ, pro ipsius anima perpetuo se Christi servitio tradidit; et ad sepulchrum incorrupti corporis sanctissimi patris Cuthberti suscipiens habitum monachi, seipsum pro ea hostiam obtulit', pp. 251–2 ('After the death of

Margaret's son. Baker argues that this is because Edgar was not yet invested as King when the 'Tynemouth' *Vita* was first composed, and thus dates it to between 1093 (the year of Margaret's death) and 1095 (the year of Edgar's accession).[19] He also considers the genealogical reference to Edward the Confessor in the 'Cotton' *Vita* anachronistic because the cult of Edward the Confessor was not popular until the 1130s.[20] But this presupposes that any reference to Edward the Confessor would have a purely hagiographical function. Baker overlooks the potent political significance that Edward the Confessor would have had in the early twelfth-century Anglo-Norman court, just one generation after the Norman Conquest. It was on his relationship to Edward the Confessor that William I based his claim to the English throne, and thus the inclusion of Edward in Margaret's genealogy in the 'Cotton' *Vita* taps into important and politically immediate discourses of legitimacy. This positions Matilda as literal and spiritual heir to the Confessor and true Queen of England.[21] The political usage to which the *Vita* puts this does not necessitate an established cult of Edward the Confessor for his inclusion to be important and relevant in the early twelfth century.

Throughout this thesis, I follow Huneycutt's ordering of the versions, taking the 'Cotton' *Vita* to have been originally composed for Matilda during her reign and the 'Tynemouth' *Vita* to be a later excerpted version.[22] Baker's arguments are made without recourse to the manuscript

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the queen, for the sake of her perpetual soul he handed himself into servitude to Christ, and, after he had taken up the monk's habit, offered himself for her sake at the tomb of the incorrupt body of the most holy father Cuthbert'); 'Interea filius ejus, qui post patrem regni gubernacula jam nunc in præsenti tenet', p. 253 ('Meanwhile her son, after the rule of his father, now holds the kingdom').

[19] Baker, 'St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', p. 131.

[20] Baker, 'St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', pp. 121–2, 132. See also Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 256–85.

[21] The *Vita Ædwardi* relates Edward the Confessor's deathbed vision of the 'green tree'. In this vision, a green tree is cut in half while in full leaf and carried off, and this severed part is later restored and grows leaves again. The marriage of Matilda and Henry I was often conceptualised in these terms, as the restoration of the 'green tree', as the two royal lines were joined. *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster, attributed to a monk of St Bertin*, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), pp. 78–9. See also Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 248.

[22] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 81.

evidence and do not explain the more personal address to Matilda in the 'Cotton' *Vita*.[23] They presuppose the later addition of a first-person narrator in the 'Cotton' *Vita*, when the 'Tynemouth' *Vita*'s adaptation of a personally addressed, first-person text to a more general third-person narrated version is more logical.

The earliest surviving Scottish version of the *Vita* appears in the Dunfermline manuscript, Madrid Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097, which I discuss more fully in Chapter 4. This version was copied by monks at the monastery of Dunfermline, which Margaret herself founded and patronised throughout her life. This manuscript also contains Margaret's *Miracula*, a historical miscellany, a regnal list of Scottish kings up to James III, and devotional material. It is in this manuscript that Turgot is named as the author of the *Vita*.

MS Cotton Tiberius D. iii, the manuscript of the 'Cotton' *Vita*, is a large folio-size manuscript containing a legendary for April to June. It includes Margaret, as her feast day falls on the 10th June.[24] It does not appear to be a particularly high-status manuscript. It seems designed for devotional use, laid out by date and rubricated so that readers could easily find the appropriate saint. The *Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ* does not stand out among the other saints in its presentation in the manuscript, which is rubricated throughout and decorated in red, blue and green ink at its capitals in a simple yet attractive manner.[25]

[23] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 84.
[24] Her feast was originally and is currently celebrated on the 16th November, the day of her death, or June 19th (10th in the pre-1970 Roman calendar), the date of her translation, which is the date given in both the thirteenth-century Coldingham Breviary and the sixteenth-century Aberdeen Breviary. See Keene, *St Margaret*, pp. 133–4.
[25] This manuscript also contains excerpts from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, completed in 731CE. This is interesting given the analogues with Bede offered by Margaret's *Vita*, discussed throughout this chapter.

The manuscript is dated between the fourth quarter of the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth century, so roughly a hundred years after Margaret's death, and more than fifty years after Matilda's death. It was owned by manuscript collectors Henry Savile of Banke (1568–1617) and Robert Cotton (1571–1631), but provenance before the sixteenth century is unknown.[26] The manuscript was badly damaged in the fire that ripped through Cotton's library in 1731, though it remains partly legible. The *Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ Scotorum Reginæ* occupies ff. 179v to 186r, in the last third of the manuscript. The manuscript is rubricated throughout, demarcating the different saints' lives, and Margaret's *Vita* is also separated into sections, some of which correspond to the chapters that the text itself introduces with rubricated numerals on 179v. The *Vita* begins with a large decorated initial roughly 4cm square in red, blue and green, marking the beginning of the prologue and address to Matilda. Another large 4cm x 4cm initial marks the start of the first chapter. After this, the coloured capitals are two to three scored lines in size and not always placed where the text itself has indicated there should be divisions. Although this version of the *Vita* is more anecdotal in tone and contains details of secular royal life, here it is nonetheless presented in a hagiographical context. Margaret's *Vita* follows the *passio* of saints Primus and Felican and is followed by Ælred of Rievaulx's *Vita Sancti Niniani* and St Ninian's *Miracula*.[27] St Ninian, although a historically ambiguous figure, was widely known for bringing Christanity to the Pictish people and as such forms a potential parallel for Margaret's later reform, bringing the Scottish Church in line with Rome.[28] Margaret's *Vita* 197v–186r identifies an author and audience: 'Excellenter honoribilit(er) & honorabili excellente Regine

[26] F.J. Levy, 'Savile, Henry, of Banke', *ODNB*; Stuart Handley, 'Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce', *ODNB*, both accessed 24.08.16; British Library Catalogues online <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001102278&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001102278&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dscnt=0&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1474750297580&srt=rank&mode=Basic&&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=cotton%20tiberius%20d%20iii&vid=IAMS_VU2> accessed 01.01.16.

[27] Primus and Felician were two brothers, martyred in Rome. They are notable for being the first recorded martyrs whose bodies were reburied inside Rome's city walls. Their feast day is 9th June.

[28] Tom Turpie, *Kind Neighbours: Scottish Saints and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 4.

anglo(rum) Matilda.T. servo(rum) sancti cuthberti servus in presenti pacis & salutus bonum. & in futuro bonorum onmium bonum', and a later hand has crossed out something written in brown ink now too faded to read, and added 'per Turgot(us)' ('by Turgot').[29] Turgot is therefore identified as the author here by a later reader, who has corrected a previous annotator's attribution of ownership. Perhaps this is done by analogy with the Dunfermline *Vita* where Turgot is identified by name.

The Cotton text is reproduced in Hogdson-Hinde's edition of the *Symeonsis Dunelmensis Opera et Collecteana* with minimal editorial interventions that appear to be mostly for clarity and consistency with the section breaks, although it is hard to tell exactly how close the transcription is because of the fire damage suffered by the manuscript.[30] Nevertheless, it will be on this manuscript version and Hodgson-Hinde's edition of the text that my literary analysis of the *Vita* will be most heavily focused in this chapter.

In the 'Tynemouth' *Vita*, preserved in Cotton Tiberius MS E. i, Margaret is identified as an English saint, commemorated as part of a *Sanctilogium Anglie*. Margaret's inclusion in Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* has led to some speculation that the 'T. Servorum sancti cuthberti' in Cotton Tiberius MS D. iii refers back to this version and identifies the compiler Tynemouth as the author. The other possible author is Theodoric.[31] The *Vita* begins on 11v and finishes at 13v, occupying only nine columns of the manuscript. Unlike Cotton Tiberius MS D. iii, the *Vita* is

[29] 'To the most honourable and excellent Matilda, queen of the English, T. servant of the servants of St Cuthbert, sends good wishes of peace and health for this present life, and the greatest of all good wishes for that life to come'. Transcription and translation are my own.
[30] *Symeonsis Dunelmensis Opera et Collecteana*, ed. by John Hodgson-Hinde (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society, 1868). All subsequent references are to this edition of the *Vita* unless otherwise specified. All translations are my own.
[31] The Bollandist Daniel Papebroch identifies a monk named 'Theodoric' as the author of the *Vita* in the 1698 volume of the *Acta Sanctorum: Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata. Seu supplementum apologeticum ad Acta Bollandiana* (Antuerpiae: Apud Bernardum Albertum Vander Plassche, 1755).

here not split into chapters. The presentation is similar in quality to Tiberius MS D. iii, although the hand is generally a little less neat, and the decoration is simpler, consisting only of letters struck through with red ink and small red initials. This version is much more purely hagiographical: the personal address to Matilda is removed, and the text is rephrased in the third person, supplying 'confessorem suum' ('her confessor') where the Cotton and Dunfermline versions have 'ego' ('I'). It begins with a historical précis, identifying Margaret as the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside but delving no further into her genealogy, and then goes on to relate her apparently reluctant marriage to Malcolm III and subsequent enriching of the Scottish court with luxury items. Though condensed, it relates Malcolm's devotion to Margaret as expressed through his decoration of her books, and the church reform he undertook at her urging. This section is the least abbreviated, and Margaret's orthodox religious practice is emphasised. The more anecdotal, personal and domestic moments are omitted, most notably the episode in which Margaret steals coins from Malcolm to give to the church. While this might reflect Tynemouth's programme of abbreviation, it might also reflect the assumed readership as it does not aim to provide models for women or queens. Margaret's charity, the miracle of her gospel-book and her death are all covered, but again in abbreviated form. In this excerpted version the essentials for Margaret's sanctity remain but the wider political significance of the 'Cotton' *Vita* is largely lost. The only remnant of this is in the inclusion of a genealogy that extends into the fourteenth century; this *bas-de-page* addition fills in the margin beneath the text from f. 11v to f. 13r and so in part glosses the main text and highlights something of Margaret's enduring political significance.

Later Print Versions

The 'Cotton' *Vita* survives in print in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and Pinkerton's *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, where it was transcribed and printed from Cotton Tiberius MS D. iii before it was fire-

damaged.[32] It also exists in a 1661 print adaptation, the *Idæa of a Perfect Princesse*, in which it appears alone with a short prologue and epilogue. The prologue introduces it as a manual for female behaviour appropriate to both mothers and daughters, and it ends with a genealogical summary that links Margaret to King Charles II. It was printed in Paris. As I will go on to discuss, the didactic tone of the Cotton version is strong and has clearly been picked up on by later readers, just as Pinkerton's 1789 print version chooses to focus on Margaret as saint rather than queen or mother.

Turgot

Despite the above debate about authorship, Turgot, named fully in the fifteenth-century Dunfermline manuscript of Margaret's *Vita*, is nonetheless a likely candidate as author.[33] Turgot was prior of Durham during the reign of Malcolm III and enjoyed considerable favour from Malcolm and Margaret's children after their parents' deaths, including bequests of land from Edgar when he was King. Turgot was later made Bishop of St Andrews by Alexander I.[34] Turgot's relationship with the Scottish royal family had not always been so harmonious. In the 1070s Turgot and the then-prior of Durham, Aldwin, were forced to abandon attempts to establish an ecclesiastical community at Melrose on account of threats from Malcolm III, who was apparently unhappy that these two churchmen were 'unwilling to swear fealty to him'.[35] During his time as prior of Durham, Turgot would indeed have been a servant of the servants of

[32] John Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, ed. by W.M. Metcalfe, 2 vols (Paisley: Gardner, 1889). This version is based on a now-lost Bollandist manuscript of the text. This manuscript was edited in 1698 by Daniel Papebroch for the Bollandists. He identifies his exemplar as 'ex Membraeno Codice Valcellensis in Hannonia monasterii, nunc nostro' ('from the pages of the book of the monastery of Vaucelles in Hainaut, now ours'). This refers to a monastery in the North of France, near Bayeux. There are few variants between Papebroch's edited text and the text of Cotton Tiberius D.x iii. For *Acta Sanctorum*, see fn. 31.

[33] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 136; Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097, 1r.

[34] Robert Bartlett, 'Turgot', *ODNB*, accessed 08.02.16.

[35] Bartlett, 'Turgot', accessed 08.02.16.

St Cuthbert and could plausibly have been in Scotland at the same time as Margaret.[36] Any actual contact or closeness between Turgot and Margaret is harder to ascertain. Indeed, there is some disagreement over whether or not Turgot was Margaret's confessor. Hodgson-Hinde claims that this is 'evidently a misconception', but Turgot seems to identify himself as her confessor in the text.[37] Either way, the 'Cotton' *Vita* gives what seems to be a personal portrait of Margaret as a mother, a queen and a pious woman. This serves to suggest that it was written by one who had a reasonable familiarity with Margaret and at least in part for an audience that would be interested in the more domestic details of Margaret's life, whether this would be the stated audience of Matilda or a court and family audience.[38]

The Address to Matilda

The 'Cotton' and 'Dunfermline' texts of the *Vita* begin with a prologue that addresses Matilda as patroness, placing its first composition during Matilda's reign as Queen of England (1100–1118). This address frames the text as a personal one: the life of a mother, written for a daughter. Turgot praises Matilda for her expressed wish to read about her mother: 'vitam matris reginæ, quæ semper ad regnum anhelabat Angelorum, non solum audire, sed etiam litteris impressam

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[36] As mentioned above, the 'Cotton' *Vita* is attributed to 'T. servus servorum S. Cuthberti' ('T. servant of the servants of St Cuthbert').

[37] Hodgson-Hinde, p. lix. This is likely based on the episode before Margaret's death where Margaret and Turgot weep together: 'Itaque secretius me alloquens, suam mihi ex ordine vitam coepit replicare, et ad singula verba lacrymarum fluvios effundere. Tanta denique inter colloquendum ejus erat compuctio, tanta ex compunction proruperat fletuum profusio, ut (sicut mihi videbatur) nihil proculdubio esset, quod a Christo tunc impetrare non posset', p. 250 ('And so, calling me to speak with her privately, she began to tell me the events of her life as they came to her, and as she began to speak so she began to pour forth tears. And so great was her compunction during our conversation, and so great the tears that flowed because of that compunction, that (or so it seemed to me) there was nothing whatsoever that Christ would not have granted her in that moment'). The privacy of the setting and Margaret's tears of contrition both suggest Turgot in the role of a confessor, but this is never explicit. It is the 'Tynemouth' *Vita* that explicitly identifies the author as Margaret's confessor.

[38] Although, as I will go on to discuss, the domestic details of the relationship between king and queen were often considered of public importance. This has been discussed more fully in reference to Edward the Confessor, his wife Edith, and scrutiny of their sexual relationship, in John Carmi Parsons, *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud: Sutton, 1994), p. 4, but it holds true generally of medieval queens that their private relationship with their king was to some extent important public business.

desideratis jugiter inspecere; ut qui faciem matris parum noveratis, virtutum ejus notitiam plenius habeatis'.[39]

The stated personal intention behind the *Vita* has been highly influential in the understanding of Turgot's *Vita* to date, separating it from more traditional works of hagiography. Huneycutt writes that '[Matilda] would no doubt have been interested in the anecdotal details about her mother's life at court and in the stories of her parents [*sic*] daily activities', and certainly Matilda had not known her mother, having spent her childhood at Romsey and Wilton under the care of her aunt Christina.[40] Melissa Coll-Smith approaches Turgot's text from the same standpoint as an 'exemplary portrait of righteous and effective queenship' rather than a straight hagiography.[41] She even suggests that Turgot's *Vita* 'presents an exemplum and, in many ways, a surrogate for Margaret herself' since it provides guidance on proper behaviour that would usually come from a royal mother.[42] Indeed, much of the critical material to date focuses on Turgot's portrayal of Margaret as an ideal mother, not only to her children but also to her people, and once again approaches the text as an exemplar for queenly conduct.[43]

In this prologue, however, Matilda is not just the passive recipient of advice, nor a lost and uncertain queen in need of motherly guidance. Turgot writes that he was motivated not just by his promise to 'eis docendis nunquam desista[t]' ('never stop teaching [Margaret's] children') but also by 'haec jussa' ('these orders') of Queen Matilda.[44] Matilda is an active and assertive patroness who stands to gain politically from this flattering portrait of her mother. Indeed, closer

[39] p. 234, 'that you wish not only to hear about, but also to have set down in letters before you, the life of your mother, who always sought the Kingdom of the Angels; so that, although you scarcely knew her in life, you might get to know her virtues well'.
[40] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', pp. 86, 89.
[41] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 69.
[42] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 79.
[43] See Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', pp. 81–97; Baker, 'St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', p. 119–41.
[44] p. 251; p. 234.

attention to the representation of Margaret reveals that many of the seeming idiosyncrasies of Margaret's behaviour do in fact have clerical, biblical or hagiographical analogues. Likewise, though Matilda is the addressee, it is clear from the *Vita*'s presentation in these manuscripts and later print lives that Margaret's *Vita* circulated widely to an audience interested in hagiography, models of queenship, and royal politics.

Matilda, born Edith, was the elder of Malcolm and Margaret's two daughters.[45] Matilda did not grow up at her parents' court. From a young age she was educated in England – first at Romsey, then at Wilton Abbey under the care of her aunt Christina. Wilton was a religious institution, but it also had a history of educating learned and politically active queens, most notably, as mentioned above, Emma of Normandy and Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor. Ritchie suggests that Margaret sent her daughter to Wilton to Normanise her, but Wilton had already educated Edward the Confessor's English Queen Edith, and was by no means a Norman foundation.[46] Wilton might, however, have provided Matilda with the same tools Emma of Normandy used to negotiate first an Anglo-Saxon court, then an Anglo-Danish one, as a foreign queen. The education at Wilton was nonetheless centred on religious texts and based around pious examples: examples, as I demonstrate below, that permeate Margaret's *Vita*. Many of the texts read at Wilton might well have been in Latin, and Goscelin's writings about the abbey seem

[45] Edith/Matilda (*c.*1080–1 May 1118). Her birth name Edith was also the name of Wilton's patron saint, and she might have originally been named after her, or even after Edward the Confessor's wife. The reasons for her change of name are unknown, although Alan J. Wilson (*St Margaret: Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993 reprinted 2001), p. 77) suggests that it is because the Normans had difficulty pronouncing Edith, while Rushforth (*St Margaret's Gospel-book: The Favourite Book of an Eleventh-Century Queen of Scots* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), p. 88) suggests the more plausible explanation that she changed her name to Matilda in honour of William the Conqueror's queen. Stafford has discussed queens changing their names to reflect belonging to their new national dynasty when they married, as in the case of Emma of Normandy, who changed her name to Ælfgifu, a saint from the Anglo-Saxon royal dynasty; Pauline Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by John Carmi Parsons (Stroud: Sutton, 1994), pp. 143–68, (p. 152).
[46] R.L. Græme Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1954), p. 75.

to presuppose that the women educated there would be literate in Latin.[47] Given all these factors, the commissioning of Margaret's *Vita* is an unsurprising product of Matilda's Wilton upbringing and education.

It was at Wilton Abbey that Henry I found Matilda.[48] Archbishop Anselm challenged Matilda's freedom to marry Henry I since there was some disagreement as to whether she had taken vows while at Wilton and there were some reports that she had been seen wearing a veil. As I will discuss more fully below, Matilda defended herself against this charge and the marriage was allowed.[49] But not all of the women who lived at Wilton Abbey were nuns. Wilton Abbey housed eligible noble brides alongside nuns, being as it was 'a repository for young women who, by virtue of their birth or wealth, posed a potential threat either to the interests of the king or to their relatives'.[50] It is therefore not surprising that men came looking for brides at Wilton, since the education provided there equipped the young women to be effective political wives, as well as pious and careful readers of Scripture and devotional texts.

During her time as queen, Matilda was actively involved in both legal and religious decisions at the court of Henry I.[51] At the same time, she commissioned a text that shows her mother as a

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[47] See Chapter 1, p. 44; Hollis, 'Wilton as a Centre of Learning', p. 313

[48] Lois Huneycutt explains in her *ODNB* article on Matilda: 'Henry I was no sooner king, in August 1100, than he proposed to marry Matilda. There was, however, the question of Matilda's freedom for marriage, since Anselm considered her a runaway nun. Matilda approached the Archbishop and told him her story; he and an assembly of bishops, nobles, and clergy decided, after careful inquiry, that she had never taken vows nor been pledged to the cloister, and was therefore free to marry. She received their verdict "with a happy expression", and on 11 November 1100 Anselm performed the wedding and crowned her queen at Westminster Abbey', accessed 26.05.16.

[49] Huneycutt, 'Matilda', accessed 26.05.16.

[50] Stephanie Hollis, 'Wilton as a Centre of Learning', in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's 'Legend of Edith' and 'Liber confortatorius'*, ed. by Stephanie Hollis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 307–38 (p. 326).

[51] Matilda appears to have taken an unusually active political role. As well as representing herself in the dispute over the legality of her marriage to Henry I, in an 1111 exchequer session Matilda, acting as a justiciar, '[treated] the administrative structure as the king would', for apparently the first time on record. See Francis West, *The Justiciarship in England 1066–1232* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 14. The contemporary *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1858), vol. 2, p. 97, also refers to Matilda as 'vice-regent'.

saint, engaging in the legal and religious governance of her realm in a manner that mirrors the way Matilda herself behaved. Whether her mother's representation as instigator of Scottish ecclesiastical and legal reform is a textual exemplar for Matilda, as Huneycutt has argued, or a parallel constructed to legitimate what seems to have been an unprecedented amount of legal intervention for a queen, or indeed both, is difficult to ascertain.[52] However, the parallels between Matilda's queenship and the representation of Margaret's queenship are strong. Matilda went on to cultivate a saintly reputation that earned her the nickname 'Good Queen Maud' and was a patroness of the arts in general and literature in particular.[53] She founded and patronised a leper hospital, and reportedly kissed the feet of lepers and drank the pus from their sores.[54] This behaviour is largely attributed to the example of her mother Margaret, but it seems just as likely that Matilda made efforts to promote her mother as saintly to bolster her own reputation.

We might better understand the political purpose of Margaret's *Vita* by analogy with the works commissioned by her two Wilton-educated predecessors, Emma of Normandy (*d.*1052) and Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor (*d.*1075). Emma commissioned the *Encomium Emmae* praising her marriage to her second husband Cnut and constructing the fiction of an unbroken family line. Edith likewise commissioned the aforementioned *Vita Ædwardi* which figured their childless marriage as a chaste and saintly one. Both the *Vita Ædwardi* and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* were politically motivated texts intended to intervene on behalf of their patrons in contemporary politics, the *Vita Ædwardi* to protect Edith after Edward the Confessor's death, and the *Encomium* to secure Emma's political position as her sons by different fathers, Harthacnut and Edward (later Edward the Confessor), negotiated control of the English

[52] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 90.
[53] Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2003), p. 103. 'Maud' was a common variant of 'Matilda'.
[54] This was not an unusual expression of sanctity. For example, St Catherine of Siena also reportedly drank the pus of lepers.

throne.[55] The political motivation behind both of these texts has been assessed by Pauline Stafford in her monograph *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, but since the *Vita* of St Margaret was not written under such politically fraught circumstances as either of the other two texts, its status as an important intervention in the history and politics of the times has been largely overlooked.[56] Given the apparent education of all four of these queens – Emma, Edith, Margaret and Matilda – at Wilton Abbey, and their family connections, it seems likely that Matilda would have been aware, at the very least, of the *Vita Ædwardi*.[57]. The matrilineal patterns of patronage among women of this period appear here to have been shared and fostered in Wilton Abbey between fellow queens and via surrogate mother-figures rather than simply mother to daughter.[58] It is indeed not impossible that Matilda would have been aware of the *Encomium* as well as the *Vita Ædwardi*, and that she might even have read it.[59]

Furthermore the choice by all three queens to patronise texts in Latin was not an accidental one.[60] Tyler's discussion of the *Encomium Emmae* as a political tool highlights the significance of

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[55] Stafford argues that 'The *Encomium* is concerned to justify and bolster a family trinity of power in which mother and two sons rule together. The *Vita Ædwardi* aims to secure Edith's future in a succession crisis whose outcome is still not clear', Stafford, 'Royal Women', p. 162. See also Elizabeth Tyler, 'Talking About History in Eleventh-Century England: the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and the Court of Harthacnut', *Early Medieval Europe*, 13 (2005), 359–83, (p. 359).

[56] Stafford excludes Margaret's *Vita* from her study with some regret, partly because both Emma and Edith are pre-Conquest and Matilda is post-Conquest, and partly because she considers their commissions 'works of self-presentation'. In this chapter, I argue that Margaret's *Vita* should also be seen in this way. Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997; paperback 2001), pp. viii–ix.

[57] Edith was, according to Keene, something like a surrogate mother to Matilda's own mother Margaret when she was at Edward the Confessor's court in England. Keene, *Saint Margaret*, p. 33.

[58] See both Tyler, 'Talking About History', p. 376, and Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1988), pp. 149–87, (p. 179).

[59] It is perhaps not inconceivable that Turgot himself had read either of these texts, or been aware of their impact on the political climate following the death of first Edward the Confessor and then Cnut, but this matter requires further research.

[60] In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, this appears to have been limited to texts in Latin. However, later queens commissioned work in the vernacular. For example, Eleanor of Aquitaine (*c.*1122–1204) commissioned literary texts in Old French, most notably the *Roman D'Eneas*. See Peter R. Grillo, 'The Courtly Background in the *Roman d'Eneas*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 69 (1968), pp. 668–702.

its having been written in Latin. Since Latin was the European *lingua franca*, this gave the *Encomium* a political neutrality from which it could intervene in the factionalism of the eleventh-century English court without appearing explicitly to be defending or attacking either side.[61] Though Turgot's *Vita* was not written in quite such a politically fraught situation, it is worth considering the importance of the choice of Latin, either by Turgot or Matilda, as the language of the *Vita*.[62] Latin was the language of the church and institutionalised religion, and as such also added weight to this *vita* of an as yet uncanonised saint. Beyond this, on the political plane, the use of Latin avoided aligning Margaret and Matilda with either Scotland or England explicitly. This does not seem so significant until we imagine the difference in the political weighting of a *Vita* of Margaret if it were written in Scots, or English, or even Norman French. Latin is therefore politically useful as a language that is both neutral in terms of national affiliation and that stood the most chance of being understood across borders over Europe. From Turgot or Matilda's choice of language of composition alone, we can understand that the *Vita* of St Margaret was a text written with careful awareness of a tradition of devotional texts, the political scene of the time and its potential endurance in the centuries to come. Under such circumstances, it is hard to believe that the text's only – or even its main – intended audience was simply Matilda herself, and that it was to be used by her to get a personal sense of her mother, as Huneycutt has suggested.[63]

Margaret's *Vita* is born from a long tradition of Anglo-Saxon royal saints, for which there is no extant comparable Scottish or Norman tradition. The Anglo-Saxons had more royal saints than

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[61] Tyler, 'Talking About History', pp. 369–70.
[62] The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* was written during the reign of Harthacnut, when the court was troubled by factionalism between the Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Norman elements. Emma herself was accused of being complicit in the murder of Alfred, her son by Æthelred, and of favouring Harthacnut over Edward, and the *Encomium* is widely believed to have been written in order to smooth over both family and political factionalism and conflict; see Tyler, 'Fictions of Family: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Viator*, 36 (2005), pp. 149–79.
[63] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 86.

any other group of people, and positioning Margaret as such aligns her even more strongly with her Anglo-Saxon royal background.[64] While it is possible that the piety Margaret appears to have displayed in her life was the product of her Hungarian upbringing and the influential models available to her at court – Stephen of Hungary (*d.*1038), later St Stephen, and his devout wife Gisela of Bavaria (*d.*1060) – Margaret's literary representation is tailored to present her as one of a long tradition of Anglo-Saxon royal saints.[65] Very much in the tradition of Anglo-Saxon royal saints, often created to '[confer] legitimacy upon a fictive successor', Matilda uses this text to position herself and her mother as not only pious queens but also rightful queens, and to promote their family line.[66] Margaret's *Vita* appears furthermore to be part of a focused programme of patronage undertaken to promote Matilda's family. She is also, for example, named as the patroness of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, a Latin history of Britain, which I cover in Chapter 3.[67] But while patronage might suggest Matilda's influence and agency, representation of both Margaret and Matilda is necessarily filtered through the male clerical author – in this case Turgot – and is shaped by clerical and biblical ideas of appropriate female behaviour.

The *Vita* as an 'advice to princesses' Text

Since Huneycutt's 1989 article, Turgot's *Vita* has been read as an exemplary text, providing a model for ideal queenship.[68] But the representation of Margaret is more complex than this. The portrait of ideal queenship provided by Turgot interacts with twelfth-century political concerns and hagiographical tropes in order to provide an exemplar that is as pragmatic as it is pious.

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[64] Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.3.
[65] Keene, *St Margaret*, pp. 19, 24.
[66] Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 250.
[67] Matilda is identified as the patroness of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* by a prefatory letter, possibly written by William of Malmesbury himself, in the Troyes Manuscript of the *Gesta*: Troyes, Bibliothéque Municipale, MS 294 (bis).
[68] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', pp. 81–97.

Turgot's image of Margaret is a model of both saintly queenship and powerful queenship. The qualities that Turgot praises and commends in Margaret certainly throw light onto what an ideal eleventh- or twelfth-century queen was thought to be, perhaps also reflect what Matilda herself aspired to, and potentially even those behaviours for which she wanted to construct a literary precedent. Huneycutt provides evidence for what she considers to be Matilda consciously emulating Margaret's example: persuading Henry I to reform English law and give endowments to the Church, and undertaking public acts of charity.[69] I would argue, conversely, that these are examples of politically active queenship for which Matilda sought justification through analogy with her saintly mother's life. Margaret is presented as a model of perfect queenship and motherhood that encompasses literacy, religious devotion, piety and charity, and her active church and legal reform. In patronising this text, Matilda had a hand in constructing an image of an ideal queen whose actions mirrored her own, which in turn positioned Matilda as the product of a perfect royal family.

Firstly, Margaret emerges from the text as an ideal mother. Margaret's motherhood is inseparable both from her spiritual piety and her worldly success as a queen. This is expressed in Turgot's description of her as a 'mat[er] piissim[a]' ('a most pious mother').[70] The specific identification of Margaret as a mother, rather than just a most pious woman, or a most pious queen, signals that to a degree her sanctity inheres in her motherhood. Although she is a queen-saint and as such has both national and dynastic significance, neither her sainthood nor her queenship is separable from her family role.[71] An essential part of this is the pious education of her children, of which Turgot's *Vita* asserts itself as part. Turgot says that Margaret asked him specifically to urge her

[69] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', pp. 90–3.
[70] p. 246.
[71] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 110. This makes a sharp contrast to Keene, who suggests that Turgot downplays Margaret's role as mother. See Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 85. I incline more towards Coll-Smith than Keene; although Margaret is certainly more than just a mother to her children in her literary representations, her family role is essential both to her sanctity and her exemplary queenship.

children to be humble and virtuous if they were to find themselves 'in culmen terrenæ dignitatis' ('at the height of earthly dignity').[72] Turgot's *Vita*, written as an example for Matilda once she was queen of England, carries out his promise to Margaret.

The transmission of Margaret's example through a written text – a book – registers both literally and symbolically, as a practical means of passing on learning to her children, earthly kings and queens, and an image that suggests the instruction of divine kings and queens. The image of a mother educating her children from religious texts is suggestive of later visual images both of St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary and the Virgin Mary teaching Christ to read.[73] This is an especially significant connection for a royal mother, since the education of the Virgin Mary was the education of the future Queen of Heaven, and the education of Christ represents the education of a king. As such, both images are not just images of the education of children, but of *royal* children, and future monarchs.[74] Images of the Holy Family reading emerge in the fourteenth century, but more generally reading was associated with pious reading, and especially with reading the Bible, and Turgot's assertion that the *Vita* is the fulfilment of his promise to Margaret that he would 'never stop teaching her children' suggests a culture of Latinate, textual education of children, both male and female.[75] The deeply textual nature of this education is borne out by the wealth of scriptural and hagiographical models Turgot uses to construct Margaret as ideal queen. Hagiographic texts frequently offered instruction to queens, and there is evidence that queens viewed female saints' lives of this kind as 'a guide to their own offices'.[76]

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[72] p. 251.
[73] For a full discussion of this motif in the Middle Ages, see Pamela Sheingorn, '"The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), pp. 69–80.
[74] Joni Hand, *Women, Manuscripts and Identity in Northern Europe, 1350–1550* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 202.
[75] As above, 'eis docendis nunquam desistas', p. 251. See: Hand, *Manuscripts and Identity*, p. 191; Sheingorn, 'Wise Mother', pp. 69–80; Gameson, 'Gospels of Margaret of Scotland', pp. 149–71. There is no research currently on representation of images of St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary in Scotland, specifically.
[76] Jo-Ann MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship in the Early Middle Ages', in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. by Sandro Sticca (New York: MRTS, 1996), pp. 51–80, (p. 66).

Both Matilda and Margaret seem to have shaped their behaviour – and Matilda the way that she and her mother were preserved for posterity – according to the tropes and patterns of biblical text and hagiography that they might have read at Wilton.

Biblical Models

Throughout the *Vita* Margaret is likened explicitly and implicitly to the Virgin Mary, Queen Esther, and Mary from the Martha and Mary story in Luke 10. Biblical figures, especially the Virgin Mary, were popular models for queens, and Margaret's own gospel-book, now Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 5, reflects these biblical models in its careful selection of texts.[77] As we have seen, Margaret's gospel-book included all of the Marian feast days and the story of Mary and Martha among its selections, which would have made suitable instructional reading for a queen.[78]

The Old Testament figure to which Margaret is explicitly compared is Esther. Esther, a Jewish woman, becomes the wife of King Ahasuerus when he puts away his previous wife, Vashti, for refusing to come before him when he summoned her.[79] Esther is a model of virtue and obedience, and as such the King chooses her to be his next wife. Once she is his wife, she learns from her uncle and guardian Mordecai that there are men at court who wish to kill all of the Jews. Mordecai, in mourning, adopts the clothes of sackcloth and ashes, which Esther wishes she too could wear, but cannot since she is Queen; she urges him to put away his mourning clothes, but he does not (4.4). Esther convinces her husband to end the plot against the Jews and punish those responsible, and he does so, but not before she has fasted (4.15) and thrown herself at the

[77] For a full discussion of the gospel-book and its contents see Chapter 1.
[78] Luke 10: 38–42. Stafford discusses the Virgin Mary as a popular model for queens in her monograph *Queen Emma*, p. 56.
[79] Esther 1: 17.

King's feet to beg him to punish Haman the Agagite, who has plotted against the Jews (8.3). As such, she functions as a model of an intercessory queen begging for her religious community.

Turgot's description of Margaret as a parallel to Esther picks up the significant image of the trampling of the accoutrements of the world:

> Nam cum pretioso, ut reginam decebat, cultu induta procederet, omnia ornamenta velut altera Esther mente calcavit; seque sub gemmis et auro nil aliud quam pulverem et cinerem consideravit.[80]

In a *Vita* that emphasises Margaret's accumulation of material wealth, this comparison with Esther 'underscores Margaret's humble and righteous performance of queenship'.[81] Furthermore, it subtly supports Matilda's own legitimate queenship and moral value The word 'calcavit' ('trampled underfoot') also forms a suggestive link with Matilda. Eadmer, in his *Historia Novorum, in Anglia* (1066–1122), uses strikingly similar language in support of Matilda's claims that she was never a nun.[82]

Thus Esther is not just a parallel for Margaret; she also offers an analogue for Matilda's own life. Esther wishes to trample the clothes of the world and live a spiritual life; Matilda tramples her veil to demonstrate that she has not vowed to a spiritual life. In a letter to Anselm quoted by

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[80] p. 242, 'For while she went forth, dressed in fine and costly clothes, as a queen ought, as though another Esther she trampled all of these ornaments underfoot in her mind; and she herself considered there to be nothing beneath the gold and jewels but dust and ashes.' The 'dust and ashes' are a reference to the mourning-clothes and ashes worn by Mordecai when he learns of the plot against the Jews. Esther wishes that she, too, could wear the mourning-clothes and ashes, but she cannot because she is the Queen. Esther 4: 1–2.

[81] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 76.

[82] Huneycutt argues that 'it is certainly suggestive that Turgot chose to refer to Margaret's attitude towards her queenly apparel in almost the same words that Eadmer uses in his *Historia Novorum* when he reports Matilda's words in reference to her monastic dress, and that the author of the biography invoked the legitimising precedent of the Esther narrative when he did so', 'Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos', in *The Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. by Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), pp. 126–46, (p. 135). It is unclear whether this episode from Eadmer precedes or follows the composition of Turgot's *Vita*. The *Historia Novorum* was written over a long time, and the exact date of composition for the *Vita* is also unknown.

Eadmer, she describes how her resentment for the veil caused her to stamp on it and throw it off in defence of her assertion that she was never a nun, and therefore free to marry.[83] She writes 'sed mox ut me conspectui ejus subtrahere poteram arreptum in humum jacere, pedibus proterere, et ita quo in eum odio fervebam quamvis insipienter consueveram desævire'.[84] Having left an abbey to marry, and having been known to have trampled on her nun's veil, Matilda commissioned a portrait of her mother that shows this potentially questionable action as a deed that aligns Matilda with the biblical Esther. Matilda is, by analogy with her mother, shown to have been behaving with pious duty when she married. She demonstrates a disdain for the world like Esther's – represented through Margaret's mental trampling of her rich clothes – which mitigates the seemingly impious trampling of the nun's veil. Therefore the rather troubling image of Matilda trampling her nun's veil serves both to legitimate her later marriage by demonstrating that she was never truly a nun, and subtly align her with her mother's example, as well as the example of Esther.

On account of her obedience and modesty, Esther was commonly considered to be an ideal queen in medieval thought, and was evoked as a model in the *ordines* used when a medieval queen was crowned.[85] Esther was a model of pious and effective queenship, and represented a queen

[83] Archbishop Anselm objected to the marriage of Henry I and Matilda on the basis that Matilda had taken nun's vows at Wilton. It was only when witnesses were produced who swore that she only wore the veil to protect herself from abductors that Anselm allowed the marriage to take place. For more discussion on this see Stephanie Hollis, 'Wilton as a Centre of Learning', pp. 307–38; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 28–9.

[84] 'but, as soon as I was able to escape out of [my aunt Christina's] sight, I tore [the veil] off and threw it to the ground and trampled on it and in that way, although foolishly, I used to vent my rage and the hatred of it that boiled up in me', Latin text: *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia et Opuscula duo de vita sancti Anselmi et quibusdam miraculis ejus*, ed. by Martin Rule (London: Longman, 1884), p. 122. Translation: Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. and trans. by Geoffrey Bosanquet (London: Cresset Press, 1964), p. 127.

[85] While this was often simply as part of a list of Old Testament women on whom the Queen might model her behaviour, in some cases reference was made to particular episodes of the Esther-story. For example, the 876 ordines for the coronation of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, written by Hincmar, makes explicit reference to Esther's queenly role as intercessor, Huneycutt, 'Esther Topos', p. 129.

who would be both obedient (in contrast to the disobedient queen Vashti whom she replaces in the biblical version) and unafraid to intercede for the religious concerns of her people.[86]

It was common for virtuous, biblical queens to be used to influence real queens, and of these, the only explicit model used in Turgot is Esther.[87] Later chronicles use comparison with Esther to highlight Margaret's foreignness, but Turgot uses it to make her an example of perfect, moral queenship.[88] Turgot's description of Margaret as 'velut altera Esther' ('just like another Esther') calls to mind these complex resonances, most prominently among them the idea that Margaret has a divinely-sanctioned, positive, spiritual influence over her husband that is in turn born of obedience to God.[89] Furthermore, her worldly power and her influence at court are mediated through this biblical exemplar, which in turn provides an exemplar for her daughter for virtuous yet active queenship.[90] Matilda's Wilton education would have drilled into her biblical and clerical models of female behaviour, but these models could be used to mould public persona as well as

[86] Esther is not an entirely straightforward model as an ideal wife, since in the literature of the Middle Ages there are hints of her using her sexual wiles to manipulate her husband, most notably in Chaucer's 'Merchant's Tale' where, although she is initially set up as one who '[b]y good conseil delyvered out of wo/ The peple of God' (1373–4), later in the Tale, as the Merchant describes May's coy and pretty look at her wedding, he says 'Queene Ester looked nevere with swich an ye/ On Assuer, so meke a look hath she' (1744–5). *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Chaucer's ambivalent and simultaneous contrasting and alignment of Esther with the sly and sexually opportunistic May hints at the common medieval anxiety that a wife – and especially a queen – might exert undue influence over her husband through her role as sexual as well as political partner. This is mitigated in Matilda and Margaret's case through the use of clerical tropes (discussed below) that show wifely attractiveness turned to encourage charitable behaviour, but it is worth noting that female influence – no matter to what end – was a troubling thought to the medieval clerical mind. The Esther-model was nonetheless current even in the Early Modern period with, for example, the early Tudor drama *Good Queen Hester*, which was apparently written to present a model for Catherine of Aragon.

[87] Huneycutt, 'Esther Topos', p. 127. Turgot also appears to reference the Martha and Mary story when he describes Margaret as 'altera Maria pedes Domini sedens' ('a second Mary, sitting at the feet of the Lord'). For discussion of this, see above, esp. p. 32.

[88] Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 91.

[89] p. 242.

[90] Huneycutt posits that 'Matilda was also perceived to have a great deal of unofficial influence over Henry, and much of the literature that she commissioned or that was directed to her contains references to that influence and her duty to exert it in the proper direction', and analogy with the biblical Esther offered an opportunity to frame that influence as virtuous, 'Esther Topos', p. 113.

personal comportment.[91] The use of the image of Esther allowed Matilda this freedom under the aegis of conforming to a virtuous biblical model, but this prescriptive model would also have served to compel Matilda to behave in a certain way, emphasising obedience and intercession over direct political intervention.[92]

The St Helena Model of Queenship

Turgot's Margaret furthermore follows not only the example of biblical holy women, but the holy women of preceding saints' legends. The most notable of these is St Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, who was credited with bringing Christianity to the Jews in Jerusalem, and was associated with the True Cross, which, in Cynewulf's poem *Elene*, she finds along with the nails of the crucifixion in Jerusalem.[93] Many queens consciously emulated St Helena in owning pieces of the true cross. Margaret herself owned a supposed piece that was kept in a richly decorated reliquary and known as the Black Rood.[94]

Margaret is explicitly compared with Helena in the description of her presence at the church reform councils:

> Quorum Conciliorum illud cæteris principalius esse constat, in quo sola, cum paucissimis suorum, contra perversa consuetudinis assertores, gladio Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, triduo dimicabat. Crederes alteram ibi Helenam residere, quia, sicut illa quondam Scripturarum sententiis Judæos, similiter nunc et hæc regina convicerat erroneos.[95]

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[91] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 35.

[92] Although Matilda is commonly presented as wifely, loved by the people, a patroness of the arts, and a generous giver of charity, there are other accounts which show what a difficult line Matilda had to tread between being generous and causing financial harm to the royal coffers. Huneycutt cites an example where she taxed her churches heavily and had to be requested to stop by Anselm, in light of which it was very important to Matilda to be seen as charitable, selfless, and not too interested in material possessions, *Matilda of Scotland*, pp. 116–17.

[93] *The Old English Elene, Phoenix and Physiologus*, ed. by Albert Stanburrough Cook (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), pp. 3–46.

[94] Turgot refers to her deathbed request for her 'Nigram Crucem' ('Black Cross'), in the *Vita*, p. 252.

[95] p. 243, 'Of these Councils, the principal among them was the one in which she alone, with very few of her own people, fought against the defenders of perverse practices with the sword of the spirit, that is the

Helena was a famous defender of the church and model of good Christian queenship.[96] Placing Margaret in this position gives her authority and God-given sanction, which allows her to have a powerful and influential position in this council without this constituting a challenge to established clerical authority. There has been considerable critical disagreement over whether Margaret did attend and play a role at these councils.[97] We cannot be sure whether these councils took place, or, if they did, whether Margaret attended. Nonetheless, Turgot's representation of Margaret as deeply and passionately involved in correcting Scottish Church practice according to Roman church standards, and his synthesis of this with the St Helena model, is pointed. MacNamara discusses the model of St Helena at length and suggests that it provided a model of behaviour for both pious and ambitious queens throughout Europe.[98] It gave queens power in their role as pious, merciful foil to their warrior-husbands and bringers of Christianity to heathen courts, linking spiritual correct practice with successful empire-building.[99] However, MacNamara reads this model rather literally in the case of Turgot's Malcolm, describing the Scots as 'half-pagan' and Malcolm – whose Gaelic name 'Mael Coluim' means 'servant of Saint Columba' and hardly indicates pagan practice – as 'willing to be converted'.[100] The Scottish Church practices followed the Columban rather than the Roman tradition, but neither the Church nor Malcolm himself appears to have been 'half-pagan', and Malcolm was not in need of 'converting'. The

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Word of God. You might have believed a second Helena was there, because, just as she with the argument of the Scriptures overcame the Jews, so now this queen corrected those who were in error.'

96 MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*', p. 52.

97 We should note that there is no historical or documentary evidence that Margaret ever attended any Church councils. Turgot's *Vita* is the only evidence we have that Margaret attended Church councils, or even that such councils took place in eleventh-century Scotland. Richard Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), p. 27, suggests that Margaret's involvement in these councils is dubious, as does J.H.S. Burleigh (*A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 43–4), who suggests that Margaret made no contribution to Church reform, and was only significant in the Scottish religious sphere through the way she raised her children. However, both Coll-Smith ('Female Saints' Lives', p. 307) and Wilson (*St Margaret*, p. 88), believe that Margaret was involved in Church councils and had a significant role as a Church reformer.

98 MacNamara suggests that emulation of saints was common among ambitious queens as well as saintly ones, '*Imitatio Helenae*', p. 66.

99 MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*', pp. 52–3.

100 MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae'*, pp. 61, 65.

reforming that Margaret accomplished was more subtle and Malcolm's support of this at least in part politically motivated. What is crucial here is that in acting as an 'alter[a][…]Helen[a]' ('a second Helena') Margaret is undertaking her queenly duty to defend and ensure the right practice of the Church.[101] As such, through a parallel with Helena, Turgot taps into a long-standing European traditional discourse of ideal queenship in which the queen was expected to be an intercessor for the church.

Margaret's Church reform also has wider political significance, both in its own time and in the twelfth-century context of the text's composition. Margaret in the *Vita* is presented as eradicating the 'perversa consuetude[o]' ('perverse practice') of the Gaelic Church.[102] Margaret's reforms are placed firmly within the religious practice of the Roman Church and thus promote Scotland's unassailable religious orthodoxy in England. Furthermore, the reforms that Margaret makes are very like those called for by the Gregorian reform movement, to which Turgot himself apparently subscribed.[103] By putting the saintly Margaret on the side of the reformers, Turgot suggests God's own support for this position, and hints that Matilda ought to support such a movement. Marshall and Oram argue that there is no historical evidence for Margaret having had much influence at all in reforming the Scottish Church, and Baker claims that the only effect Margaret had on the Scottish Church was to bring monks to Dunfermline.[104]

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[101] p. 243.
[102] p. 243.
[103] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 112. Keene suggests that both Margaret and Turgot sought to promote the 'new hermits'. These 'new hermits' encouraged lay piety, potentially in the forms demonstrated by Margaret herself. Both the 'new hermits' and Turgot appear to have sought to revitalise forgotten religious sites. In Turgot's case, this was Melrose. Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 70.
[104] Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080–1980* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1983), p. 37; Oram, *David I*, p. 27; Baker, 'St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', p. 127.

However, what is significant to this thesis is not whether or not Margaret was an effective reformer, but rather Turgot's telling choice to present Margaret as such.[105]

In acting as a Church reformer, Margaret exercises political and legislative power rarely represented as being wielded by women.[106] Women were permitted to influence their husbands and intervene in public matters, but only on the grounds of religious practice, and pious duty.[107] Malcolm is presented as supporting Margaret's reform as her 'adjutor' ('assistant').[108] Turgot's powerful fiction is one of a Scotland united religiously and brought into line with Rome through the cooperation of a pious wife and a devoted husband. However, it also operates on a pragmatic and political level. Malcolm may well have supported Margaret's Church reform for political reasons. If the Church in Scotland conformed to Roman practice, William the Conqueror would not be able to get the Pope's support to invade, since '[u]northodox religious practices had historically served as a pretext for invasion'.[109] Scotland's 'correct' Church practice was not just important to Matilda, for her acceptance as an English queen, but also to Scotland's political independence. Turgot dedicates the whole of the second chapter to Margaret's pious and civilising influence on Malcolm, the Scottish court and the Scottish Church. Such prominence in a four-chapter *Vita* demonstrates the vital importance of Church practice to

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105 Wilson also discusses the method of Margaret's reform, and how her own reforming behaviours display self-preservation more prominently than reformist zeal: 'Queen Margaret was thus deeply interested in the condition of the church [sic], and passionately involved in its reform. She supervised a gradual evolution. She did not stage-manage a reformation. Even today there are those who hold St Margaret responsible more for implementing policies of destruction than creating and enriching. This view does service neither to Margaret nor to Malcolm. Under her guidance the church in Scotland was led into the twelfth century, peacefully and bloodlessly, where it would join and remain in the Christian community of Europe', Wilson, *St Margaret*, p. 88. However, I think it is important to bear in mind that a lot of the information we have about Margaret's reforming practices is from Turgot's *Vita*, and might therefore represent, more than Margaret's own concerns, those of Matilda or an even wider set of people with a political investment in Scotland's Church reform.

106 Although popularly recognised as a saint, and represented as one by Turgot, Margaret was not officially canonised until 1250.

107 Pauline Stafford, 'Royal Women', p. 146.

108 p. 243.

109 Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 64.

Turgot's audience – both the addressee, Matilda, and the wider potential audience of the English, and perhaps European, court[s].

Furthermore, in her role as Church reformer, Margaret has authority over her husband. Malcolm acts as her interpreter from English to Gaelic: '[s]ed in hoc conflictu rex ipse adjutor et præcipuus residebat; quodcumque in hac causa illa jussisset, dicere paratissimus et facere.'[110] However, this is a model not of the deference of a king to a queen, but of the deference of a woman to the patriarchal authority of Holy Scripture, and of a man to her because he recognises the power of that authority.[111] Margaret's obedience to Holy Scripture gives her the authority to instruct and guide both her husband the King and these learned men. Margaret obeys the scripture utterly, and Malcolm obeys her out of recognition of her virtue. Turgot explicitly reassures us that there is a patriarchal authority guiding Margaret's actions: 'sapientissimo sacræ semper Scripturæ magisterio regebatur.'[112] Margaret's sainthood coalesces with her queenship to present an acceptable form of female authority: one mediated through the patriarchal masculine authority of Scripture. Religious life or posthumous sanctity were two of the few ways that women could gain access to power and influence without attracting criticism, something which Matilda herself seems to have harnessed.[113]

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[110] p. 243, 'but in this debate the king himself presided as her especial assistant; whatever she judged in this matter he was fully prepared to say and to do.' We should note that, although Margaret is here represented being translated for, we cannot be sure what languages she would or would not have spoken. It is worth noting that it was common for royal women in the tenth and eleventh centuries to speak several languages. See: Keene, *St Margaret*, pp. 63–4; Elizabeth Tyler, 'Crossing Conquests: Polyglot Royal Women and Literary Culture in Eleventh-Century England', in *Conceputalizing Multilingualism in England c. c.800–c.1250*, ed. by Elizabeth Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 171–96.

[111] Turgot explicitly identifies Malcolm's obedience to Margaret as a product of her piety: '[i]psam tam venerabilis vitæ reginam, quoniam in ejus corde Christum veraciter habitare perspexerat, ille quomodo offendere formidabat', p. 241 ('he began to dread the thought that he might offend her in some way, after he had seen from the queen's most venerable way of life, that Christ truly dwelt within her heart'). Keene suggests that Margaret appears here more as a missionary bishop than an evangelising queen. But Margaret here is passive; Malcolm observes her piety and virtue and is moved to obedience. Given the preponderance of female models, and the address to Matilda, I think it is likely that Margaret's gender is an important part of her ability to temper secular male rule with female piety, *St Margaret*, p. 87.

[112] p. 240, 'she was always ruled by the wisest of masters, the Holy Scriptures'.

[113] Stafford, 'Royal Women', p. 143.

Margaret is not just a Church reformer in Scotland; she is also a social reformer. For a saint's biography, Turgot is surprisingly positive and extensive in his description of the material improvements that Margaret made to Malcolm's court. Other authors discuss the luxurious lifestyle enjoyed by royalty, but Turgot is unusual in his wholesale approval of Margaret's accumulation of riches, and his identification of this as part of her saintly behaviour.[114] The description of these riches is remarkably comprehensive and specific:

> Regalis quoque aulæ ornamenta multiplicavit, ut non tantum diverso palliorum decore niteret, sed etiam auro argentoque domus tota resplenderet. Aut enim aurea vel argentea, aut deaurata sive deargentata fuerunt vasa, quibus regi et regni proceribus dapes inferebantur et potus.[115]

This emphasis on worldly show is far from what one might expect in the life of a saint. Ritchie argues that this is simply evidence of Margaret's Normanising influence on the Scottish court, but given that Margaret herself was Anglo-Saxon/Hungarian and her family had not co-existed entirely harmoniously with the new Norman monarchy in England, I would suggest that the influence is more generally European and civilising than Norman.[116] Furthermore, a king's riches were seen as an expression of divine favour, a worldly manifestation of spiritual approval for that king's rule.[117] Malcom and Margaret's court is also portrayed as strikingly wealthy in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* D-version entry for 1067, but there is no suggestion in this version that Margaret brought or encouraged this wealth.[118] That she is represented as doing so by Turgot reflects English attitudes towards the Scottish court and aims to promote the court of Matilda's parents

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[114] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 96.
[115] p. 242, 'And she also made sure that the royal palace was richly decorated so that it not only gleamed with different bright clothing worn by those within, but also shone everywhere throughout with gold and silver. And even the plates from which the King ate and drank were gold or silver, or at the very least gold-plated and silver-plated.'
[116] Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 69.
[117] A king's riches were seen as a sign of his 'luck', evidence that he was more than an ordinary man, and an expression of divine favour. Wiliam Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 13.
[118] See Chapter 3, p. 131.

as of equal stature with other European courts.[119] In this light, Margaret's acquisition of fine things registers as a pious duty, ensuring that Malcolm's court reflects God's appointment of a rightful king. Keene goes so far as to link this with her wider argument that Margaret is made to resemble Bede's exemplary Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, both in her ennobling the court with rich items, and in her strict leadership.[120] However, I would hesitate to give this as the only reading, since many of Margaret's actions have both secular and religious significance.

Turgot's presentation of the Scottish court as coming to a new European refinement under Margaret reminds the English audience of this text that some of their prejudicial views about Scottish inferiority might be incorrect, and supports Matilda as a fittingly cultured and sophisticated queen for England. Margaret's cultural improvement of an apparently barbaric Scottish court might furthermore be a potential parallel for Matilda's programme of cultural enrichment, made to counter the 'philistinism' of the Norman court.[121] In either case, royal dignity is cultivated by an active queen, and in this role the acquisition of expensive objects and the amassing of material possessions appear not to be in conflict with a life of virtue, or even, in Margaret's case, of sanctity.

A Divinely Ordained Marriage

Turgot's Margaret is a rare example of married sainthood (in contrast with her namesake Margaret of Antioch who was a virgin martyr) and in fact her earthly roles as wife and mother bolster rather than compromise her sainthood. At her canonisation, Pope Innocent IV stressed

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[119] Joanna Huntington argues that Margaret's acquisition of fine things was part of an effort to '[bring] Scotland in from the cold, culturally speaking'; I would be more inclined to suggest that it was part of Turgot's literary effort, on Matilda's behalf, to represent Scotland as a court on a par with its European counterparts. Huntington, 'St Margaret of Scotland: Conspicuous Consumption, Genealogical Inheritance, and Post-Conquest Authority', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 33:2 (2013), 149–64, (p. 164).

[120] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 84.

[121] Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450–1500* (London: Phoenix Press, 1995), p. 243.

Margaret's role as mother, in parallel with the Virgin Mary, and it is on her role of queen and mother that her portrait by Turgot is most focused.[122] Despite the lack of precedent among Anglo-Saxon saints, being a mother and being a politically powerful woman did not stop Margaret being a saint. Indeed, as we shall see, representation of Margaret would later evolve into that of a national mother-figure to Scotland, as well as an exemplary mother to her children.[123] For Turgot, then, a significant part of Margaret's importance is as a wife and mother and his *Vita* refigures marriage and childbearing as pious duty.

Turgot's *Vita* thus serves the purpose of legitimating Matilda's own choice to leave Wilton and marry Henry I. By commissioning a work in which her saintly mother privileges worldly duty over a religious life and 'suorum magis quam sua voluntate, immo Dei ordinatione, potentissimo regi Scottorum Malcolmo [...] in conjugium copulatur', worldly advancement is re-registered as pious duty, and Matilda's own choices are legitimated by the precedent set by her saintly mother.[124] Turgot himself draws the parallel, opening his life of St Margaret with the dedication to Matilda: 'vobis congratulor, quæ a Rege Angelorum constituta regina Anglorum.'[125] The 'Angelorum/Anglorum' wordplay is reminiscent of Bede, thereby aligning Turgot's account with a respected authority on church history, and supporting Matilda as God-chosen rightful Queen of England.[126] As argued above, Margaret's example of literacy, as well as piety, provides the model for her daughter to use literary texts and the power available to her as a patron in order to

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122 'You became Queen and Mother, the glory of Scots', Wilson, *St Margaret*, p. 111.
123 For further of discussion of this, see Chapter 4 on the Dunfermline Manuscript and Chapter 5 on the Older Scots chronicles.
124 p. 238, 'more according to the wishes of those close to her than her own, no indeed by God's order, she was married to Malcolm, most powerful king of the Scots.'
125 p. 234, 'I congratulate you, who by the King of the Angels are made Queen of the English.'
126 'Rursus ergo interrogauit, quod esset uocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est, quod Angli uocarentur. At ille: 'Bene,' inquit; 'nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes'', The Venerable Bede, *Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum*, ed. by Charles Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), vol. 1, p. 80. 'Again he asked for the name of the race. He was told they were called *Angli*. 'Good,' he said, 'they have the face of angels, and such men should be fellow-heirs of the angels in heaven', *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 70.

reconceptualise her decision to leave Wilton Abbey to marry as one of pious duty, not its abandonment. In this instance Matilda appears to have had the same persistence and skill with speech that Margaret is credited with; like the Margaret of the *Vita*, she disputed with senior members of the Church and prevailed.[127]

Despite both later medieval and modern historians' arguments to the contrary, there is in fact no evidence that Margaret ever intended to become a nun.[128] During the time she spent in England and potentially at Wilton Abbey, Margaret would have been old enough to take nun's vows had she so wished.[129] Her sister Christina became a nun at Wilton and later Abbess at Romsey, but there is no evidence that Margaret – despite her reported piety – ever intended to do so. Her reluctance to marry Malcolm has often been read alongside her pious life as an expression of desire to live a monastic life, but could have been a political concern, or anxiety that Malcolm was already married.

Indeed, it is not just Matilda's marriage that Turgot's *Vita* serves to legitimate. There is some lingering doubt among historians as to what exactly happened to Malcolm's first wife, Ingeborg. Keene suggests that she was set aside in order that Malcolm could marry, whereas Ritchie suggests that she must have died in order for Margaret to consent to the marriage.[130] Wilson suggests that Ingeborg must have been long gone before Margaret married Malcolm, otherwise

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[127] This is especially evident in the case of her freedom to marry. The episode in which Matilda defends her freedom to marry Henry I is recorded in Eadmer's *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, p. 121–6; see also Eleanor Searle, 'Women and the Legitimisation of Succession at the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, 3 (1980), 159–70, who suggests that it was William Rufus who insisted that Matilda wear the veil and abjure a life of marriage and politics, p. 167.

[128] Forbes-Leith in his introduction to the translation of the *Vita* says '[b]oth the sisters of Edgar [i.e. Margaret and Christina] were inclined to a religious life', *Life of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland by Turgot, Bishop of St Andrews*, trans. by William Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1884), p. 14. This misunderstanding of the text appears to have become part of the critical background on Margaret, with many subsequent scholars repeating this assumption that Margaret wanted to pursue a religious life.

[129] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 41.

[130] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 47; Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 24.

her family would not have consented, but Margaret and her brother and sister were not in a strong bargaining position when they arrived in Malcolm's country as refugees.[131] In fact, they seem to have been at a rather similar political disadvantage to the one Emma of Normandy was at when she was 'fetched' by Cnut.[132] Margaret, too, was hardly in a position to object to an existing wife. Barrow makes no assertion either way, simply describing Ingeborg as Malcolm's 'first wife' and Margaret as his 'second wife'.[133] The possibility that has been largely ignored is that Ingeborg neither died nor was set aside, but continued to be Malcolm's wife *de more danico*, as Ælfgifu of Northampton did after Cnut's marriage to Emma of Normandy.[134] This may have been what happened with Ingeborg and Margaret. The *Encomium Emmae* pointedly refers to Ælfgifu as a 'concubinae' ('concubine'), and suggests that Cnut was not even the father of her child.[135] Likewise, Turgot's *Vita* asserts the primacy of the second wife, but goes further in erasing Ingeborg entirely from its version of history. It is partly due to Turgot's account that we know so little about what happened to Ingeborg, since Margaret's *Vita* is the source of all the chronicle versions of the Canmores' family life.[136] At a time when the Church was pressing for the sanctity of marriage, and when Margaret was yet to be made a saint, it was of the utmost importance that Turgot presented the marriage of the mother of his patroness as beyond reproach, as a willing, legitimate union and a marriage irreproachable in its sanctity, in order to

131 Wilson, *St Margaret*, p. 69.
132 According to the *ASC*, Emma of Normandy returned from exile in Normandy to marry Cnut. After Æthelred's death, Emma was in a vulnerable position, and fled to Normandy with her sons. The *ODNB* suggests furthermore that Emma might have, in actuality, been unable to flee from England to Normandy, and was compelled to marry Cnut, who wanted her as his wife to discourage her father in Normandy from supporting the claims of her sons by Æthelred. Simon Keynes, 'Emma of Normandy', *ODNB*, accessed 05.11.14. See Chapter 3, p. 121.
133 Barrow, 'Malcolm III', accessed 05.11.14.
134 '[M]arriage *more danico* was neither informal marriage nor even legitimi[s]ed abuction, but simply secular marriage contract in accordance with Germanic law', lit. 'Viking-style' marriage. Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 112.
135 *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Alistair Campbell and Simon Keynes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 40–1.
136 Coll-Smith, 'Female Saints' Lives', p. 80.

ensure his patron's place as a rightful and appropriate Queen of England.[137] Nor does Turgot mention Matilda's half-brothers, Malcolm's sons with Ingeborg. The earliest version of the *Vita* would have been written against the backdrop of the succession crisis that followed Malcolm and Margaret's sudden deaths, in which Malcolm's brother Donald briefly seized the throne, following the older, Scottish manner of succession from older to younger brother, rather than the father–son succession.[138] Turgot's *Vita* establishes the latter as the only legitimate route of succession, and Malcolm and Margaret's children as the rightful rulers of Scotland. Even if it was the case that Ingeborg died, her elision from Turgot's record is also a disavowal of the importance of her sons. The fiction of a single, legitimate ruling family is carefully created to achieve specific political ends, to promote one family strand and marginalise the other.

Turgot's Malcolm

Turgot's portrait of Margaret as learned, wise and virtuous comes at the expense of Malcolm.[139] Malcolm is here presented as her subordinate and, most significantly, as illiterate.[140] Turgot's presentation of Malcolm III as illiterate has survived in tradition, and is repeated in Bower's account.[141] Margaret's religious education of Malcolm fits neatly into the scholastic theological trope that women could persuade their heathen husbands to become Christian through wifely persuasion and education from the proper religious books.[142] Turgot describes Margaret's

137 Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 48; it is worth nothing that the marriage appears much more willing in contrast to the *ASC* version. See Chapter 3, p. 119.
138 Oram, *David I*, p. 40.
139 This is in contrast, also, to the *Encomium Emmae*'s depiction of Emma and Cnut as equals, as illustrated famously on the frontispiece to the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester (now London, British Library, MS Additional 33241, f. iv). This is discussed at length by Pauline Stafford in Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997; paperback 2001).
140 For discussions of literacy, see Chapter 1, fn. 12.
141 See *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, ed. by D.E.R. Watt et al., 9 vols (Aberdeen and Edinburgh: Aberdeen University Press, 1987–98), vol. 3, pp. 70–1.
142 Sharon Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives', *Speculum*, 61 (1986), 517–43, (p. 527). Farmer's article focuses on twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples, including Thomas of Chobham, discussed below.

yearning for 'sacr[um] volum[en]' and explains that '[n]ec in his solummodo suam, sed etiam aliorum quæsivit salutem'.[143] Bookish and pious Christian women in the Middle Ages were exhorted to convert heathen husbands, or to direct them to the right kind of religious behaviour.[144] It would have been in Matilda's interest to depict her mother teaching correct religious practice to Malcolm, as this would suggest that Matilda's own religious upbringing had been impeccable. Given that, Turgot is not just representing the Scottish court as it was, and the relationship between Matilda's parents as it was, but as a picture that conformed to clerical images of the time and presented an orthodox and exemplary image of marital relations for Matilda to follow.

Margaret 'ipsa, cooperante sibi Deo' makes Malcolm 'ad justitiæ, misericordiæ, eleemosynarum, aliarumque opera virtutum […] obtemperantissimum'.[145] The word 'obtemperantissimum' ('most obedient') is significant here, showing Malcolm to be acting under Margaret's instruction and guidance, and indeed as a subordinate to her.[146] That Malcolm was 'obedient' to Margaret in reality seems unlikely, since he was already an established king with a reputation for being 'ruthless and opportunistic'.[147] However, Turgot's presentation of Malcolm as an obedient pupil of Margaret's makes use of this clerical trope in order to provide an example for Matilda. If not in reality, Matilda seems to have acted on this advice in literature: in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, Matilda uses her wifely persuasion to induce her husband into good works. Bower identifies her

[143] p. 241, 'holy books […] [b]ut through these she sought not only her own salvation, but also that of others'.
[144] Farmer, 'Persuasive voices', p. 541.
[145] p. 241, 'She herself, with God's help […] made him most obedient to justice, mercy, almsgiving and other good works.'
[146] Forbes-Leith gives the translation 'attentive' (p. 38), but the *DMLBS* gives as the first definition: 'obtemperare, *v* 1. to be submissive to, comply with, obey'.
[147] Oram, *David I*, p. 18.

nickname 'Good Queen Maud' with one particular instance of this, in which Matilda rode naked through London in order to convince Henry I to lift heavy tax levies from the poor.[148]

Turgot takes pains not just to present Malcolm and Margaret's marriage as legitimate and God-ordained, and a model of ideal warrior-king and pious-queen pairing following the example of Esther and Helena, but to also present it as happy. Turgot's presentation of the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret constructs it as harmonious, romantic and affectionate. A vignette from the *Vita* picked up by Bower is the episode where Malcolm catches Margaret stealing from his offering of gold to give some to the poor. Turgot writes '[e]t sæpe quidem cum rex ipse sciret, nescire tamen se simulans, hujusmodi furto plurimum delectabatur; nonnunquam vero manu illius cum nummis comprehensa, adductam, meo judicio, ream esse jocabatur'.[149] This image is fond and playful. Its anecdotal style forms part of Huneycutt's argument that the *Vita* was written so that Matilda could gain a sense of the family life of her parents.[150] While this may to an extent be true, this episode is similar to the advice of clerical manuals for good wives, and suggests that it had a second significance as a model of pious wifehood. Thomas of Chobham's 1215 *Manual for Confessors* encourages the pious wife to behave as Margaret does, and steal from her husband:

> et occulte faciat eleemosynas de rebus communibus, et eleemosynas quas ille omittit, illa suppleat. Licitum enim mulieri est de monis viri sui in utiles usus ipsuis et in pias causas ipso ignorante multa expendere.[151]

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[148] *Scotichronicon*, vol. 3, p. 117: Matilda appeals to Henry I to lift heavy taxes on the poor. He agrees to do so on the condition that she ride naked through the middle of London. Matilda does so (albeit covered, Bower claims, down to her knees by her hair) and earns herself the adoration of King and commons, and the nickname 'the good queen'. There is no historical evidence of this; it seems to be a folktale variant of the Lady Godiva legend, p. 246–7.

[149] p. 246, '[a]nd indeed often the king himself knew this, though he pretended not to, and he liked very much to pretend that he had not noticed; sometimes indeed he caught her with one of the coins in her hand, and joked that she would be taken away and by his judgement be found guilty.'

[150] Huneycutt, 'Perfect Princess', p. 86.

[151] *Thomæ de Chobham: Summa Confessorum*, ed. by F. Broomfield (Paris & Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1968), p. 375. 'And secretly let her give alms from their shared property, and let her supply those alms which he

Margaret's behaviour is typical of a pious wife, and her positive influence on Malcolm is repeatedly made explicit. She increases the piety of his offering by sharing it among the poor, and she encourages his charity. The light tone of this episode in Turgot's work does indeed seem geared towards a more personal understanding of Margaret the woman as well as Margaret the saint, but like so many other elements of the *Vita*, this operates on a double level, and we are left unsure as to whether this episode is a stock piece from clerical advice manuals, or an anecdote from Margaret's life with a symbolic resonance.

This takes on a political dimension as, in the final part of the *Vita*, Margaret advises Malcolm against raiding in Northumbria after she has had a divinely-inspired premonition that a disaster will befall him if he does:

> ipsa, quasi futurorum præscia, multum prohibuerat ne quoquam cum exercitu iret; sed nescio qua de causa contigit, ne tunc illius monitis obediret.[152]

Malcolm ignores the advice of the pious wife he usually obeyed out of love and admiration, and his subsequent betrayal and murder is refigured from a possible act of treason to a morality tale about the potentially fatal consequences of not heeding the advice of one's wife. It is easy to imagine why Matilda, who advised her husband Henry I on legal and ecclesiastical affairs, might have found this an attractive model of queenship, but it also has political work to do in rewriting the Scoto-Norman conflict during Malcolm's reign. Malcolm and William the Conqueror had coexisted in relative harmony following Malcolm's 1072 submission at Alnwick, but after the accession of William Rufus in 1091, Malcolm resumed raiding in Northumbria.[153] There followed a series of disputes between Malcolm and Rufus which culminated in 1093 when Malcolm went

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leaves out. For it is right that a woman spends her husband's riches without his knowledge, in ways that are useful to him and for pious causes.' Translation is my own.

[152] p. 252, 'Margaret herself, as if she already knew what was to come, had repeatedly forbidden him from going out with his army; but – I do not know why – he did not heed her warning.'

[153] Barrow, 'Malcolm III', accessed 20.06.16.

to the English court and Rufus refused to see him.[154] In response to this, Malcolm, accompanied by his and Margaret's eldest son Edward, invaded the North of England, and Malcolm was killed by a former comrade, Archil Morel of Bamburgh.[155] Turgot glosses over this complex political backdrop completely, presenting instead a narrative in which a king ignores his queen's proper pious intercession in the cause of peace and unity and pays the price. Not only does this recall the role of the queen to urge peace and unity, it also presents a version of history that exculpates the Norman family of Margaret's daughter's husband.

While acknowledging that there might be some exaggeration, Catherine Keene, Margaret's most recent biographer, interprets the report of Turgot's *Vita*, that Margaret and Malcolm's marriage was a happy one, literally.[156] Her argument is based partly on the fact that they may have met before while Malcolm was at Edward the Confessor's court, but largely on the idea that eight children constitutes 'concrete evidence […] that the two were not without some affection for each other'.[157] Keene's argument is that this at least means that Margaret travelled with Malcolm as the Scottish court moved around the country, though Margaret need not have been willing to accompany him.[158] More broadly, I do not find this interpretation of the evidence convincing; Margaret need not necessarily have taken pleasure in the sexual act that led to her children's conception, nor indeed have seen it as an act of love or affection.[159] Instead, we must accept that the real circumstances of the marriage are unknowable, and the presentations of it in chronicle and contemporary biography as a romantic match are more indicative of a desire to legitimise the

[154] Barrow, 'Malcolm III', accessed 20.06.16.
[155] Barrow, 'Malcolm III', accessed 20.06.16.
[156] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 50.
[157] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 50.
[158] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 50.
[159] The prevailing notion that the conception of children stands as evidence of a happy marriage sits uncomfortably somewhere between Galenic medicine (Galen's theory was that conception could only occur if the female released her 'seed' along with the male via orgasm) and a certain strand of American Republican 'pro-Life' rhetoric, and is of no benefit to historical or literary enquiry.

issue of that marriage and present an ideal royal couple than reflective of the actuality of Malcolm and Margaret's marriage.

Whatever the reality, politicised texts such as Turgot's *Vita* and Emma's *Encomium* invest heavily in the idea of royal marital harmony and affection. Even if we take Turgot's statement of why he wrote the *Vita* at face value, and assume that this is in order to provide Matilda with a pleasant and positive picture of her parents, this fiction of a happy marriage also has a political function. Stafford has discussed how the picture of a harmonious union between king and queen in the *Encomium Emmae* constructs a fiction of the harmonious union of two nations and cultures in the marriage of Emma and Cnut.[160] The harmonious union of king and queen stands as a metonym for the union of nations and bloodlines, and the presentation of Malcolm and Margaret's marriage as a harmonious one suggests that their children, including their daughter Matilda, represent the harmonious union of the Anglo-Saxon royal line with the Scottish one.

Conclusion

Turgot's *Vita* has long been approached as either biography or hagiography, and though Keene's recent work has taken some steps towards synthesising hagiographical tropes and historical possibility, it is still ultimately a historical investigation. Over the course of this chapter I have demonstrated that Turgot's *Vita* is a deeply political text – akin to the *Vita Ædwardi* and the *Encomium Emmae* – that not only provided a political and personal model for its addressee Matilda, but also served to legitimate her family line and her actions.

[160] Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 34. The creation of a fiction of a harmonious marriage in order to promote national and dynastic interests seems to have been a common preoccupation of the Middle Ages. Turgot's *Vita*, Emma's *Encomium*, and even the *Roman D'Eneas* engineer a 'happy ending'; it seems that it was important in fictions of national and dynastic importance that marriages were constructed as willing and happy.

However, we should be careful to read Turgot's *Vita* as the literary portrait that it is. Many historians have relied on Turgot's *Vita* as fact. Linklater calls Margaret 'one of these strong, interfering, pious and persistent women of whom England has successfully bred a considerable number' and Donaldson and Morpeth suggest that '[r]eading between the lines [of Turgot's *Vita*], one discerns a somewhat severe lady, who checked mirth at court and dominated her husband, none of whose children by her was given a Scottish name'.[161] The idea that Margaret was controlling Malcolm, and that she bullied him into giving their children English names, seems overly simplistic. Between the lines of Turgot's *Vita* exists instead a complex interplay of personal anecdotes, clerical tropes and political agendas that construct a version of Margaret that is both an example to her daughter and a powerful political tool both for Scottish national interests and Anglo-Saxon dynastic interests.

While Turgot's assertion that the *Vita* was commissioned by Matilda is suggestive of networks of female power, it is also important to remember that this text was written by a male clerical scribe and to an extent offers a model for female behaviour where power and influence can be attained, but only under the aegis of sanctity and through the following of biblical models. Nonetheless, Turgot's *Vita* demonstrates that literary patronage was one of the ways in which women sought to gain power. It is ultimately unclear whether or not Margaret's example served as a 'point of resistance' for Matilda, empowering her and dignifying her ancestry, or a point of control, proving a clear example for her to follow that conformed carefully to biblical and clerical sources.[162]

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161 Erik Linklater, *The Lion and the Unicorn* (London: Routledge, 1935), p. 36; Gordon Donaldson and Robert S. Morpeth, *Who's Who in Scottish History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), p. 5.
162 Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), p. 1.

In sum, Turgot's *Vita* is a complex synthesis of tropes of hagiography, 'advice to princesses' writing, personal anecdote, dynastic and national concerns that produces a unique and nuanced portrait of Margaret in which so many of the aspects of her life register doubly on the symbolic and the literal level. From her gospel-book – which illustrates the pious education she gave her children and her own devotion to Scripture and God's protection of her because of it – to her intervention in Church reform, which illustrates how Turgot aligns her with both Esther and Helena models, this has potential political valence, and could be used in support of both her daughter Matilda as Queen and Scotland as an independent state. The sainthood of Turgot's Margaret is an attainable example of virtuous female living with real-world repercussions.

The audience of the *Vita* appears to have changed over time. From the stated primary audience of Matilda, the *Vita* has been variously re-anthologised along with other *vitae* in Cotton Tiberius D. iii, and then significantly abridged for an audience most obviously interested in its hagiographical content in the 'Tynemouth' *Vita*. By the time of the compilation of the Dunfermline manuscript, discussed in Chapter 4, the *Vita* is copied alongside both devotional and political material for an audience interested in both the political and the religious life of Scotland. Turgot's *Vita* marks the beginning of a tradition of writing Margaret, and later 'Margaret'-texts take up this careful synthesis of sainthood and queenship. In both the 'Cotton' and 'Tynemouth' versions, despite the political weighting suggested by the address to Matilda, the *Vita* is anthologised alongside other saints' lives. By the thirteenth century, the *Vita* in its Dunfermline version was being anthologised and read alongside historical and devotional material, thus bearing witness to the growing and changing valence of Margaret as ideological symbol. These later print versions reveal the enduring significance of this text as a hagiography, as an instructional text, and indeed as the biography of a queen who was still politically useful into the seventeenth century. This synthesis makes Margaret not only politically useful on an international level – able as queen-saint to stand as metonym for God's approval of a particular

ruler or state – but also on the familial level. She appears to be a biblically- and clerically-defined 'good wife'. She counsels her husband in ecclesiastical and secular politics and is learned and influential in her own right. Turgot's Margaret would later be incorporated into the royal-and-monastic-focused Dunfermline compilation, and then afterwards into Bower's nationalistic *Scotichronicon*, both of which contextualise Margaret's influence within a sacral Scottish kingship. But here Margaret's importance is undimmed and the portrait is of a uniquely powerful woman and one whose power is supported by the authority of both God and Scripture.

Chapter 3: St Margaret in the Early English Chronicles

In this chapter I will trace the literary representation of Margaret across the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (hence *ASC)* and later twelfth-century Latin chronicles by William of Malmesbury (*c.*1090, *d.* in or after 1142), Ælred of Rievaulx (1110–1167), Eadmer (*c.*1060–1126), and Orderic Vitalis (1075–*c.*1142) in order to show that in the late eleventh and early twelfth century Margaret's significance to contemporary historians was markedly political. Unlike Turgot's near-contemporary biography in which Margaret appears as a saint 150 years before she is canonised, these early English chronicles primarily focus on Margaret's role as the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal line. In the chronicles Margaret is no saint; her piety is simply a facet of her representation as ideal queen. Moreover, despite Margaret's obvious significance to the Anglo-Saxon royal line in these early English chronicles, the suggestion that 'in the English chronicles of the twelfth century, [Margaret] is *simply* a Wessex womb' [emphasis mine] seems misplaced.[1] Margaret is more than just a mother of kings and queens: she appears also as an ideal ruler and virtuous exemplar. She receives significantly more attention in the *ASC* than any other female figure, appearing as a notably active and important queen in contrast to the queens who directly precede, Emma of Normandy and Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor. She is a figure invested with great symbolic and dynastic significance, but this symbolic political power is directed towards sustaining and preserving the Anglo-Saxon royal line rather than either Scotland or England as a kingdom.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

The collection of texts known as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a vernacular history of the English. In its collected form, it stretches from sixty years before the birth of Christ to 1154. Charting

[1] Melissa M. Coll-Smith, 'The *Scottish Legendary* and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval Scotland' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2010), p. 82.

over a thousand years of history, the *ASC* provides a unique perspective on nascent ideas of English nationhood. In its development from very spare annal-style entries to much more expansive later entries and even poetry, Swanton argues that it also charts the evolution of Anglo-Saxon literature.[2] Believed by some to have been originally commissioned by Alfred the Great, and certainly showing a particular focus on kings and especially the reigns of the West Saxon kings, the *ASC* had close links with various English (and indeed Scottish) courts during its lifetime.[3] Although often referred to as a single cohesive unit, the *ASC* in fact describes a collection of chronicles that stem from the same 'common stock' but diverge widely according to local interest or circumstance.[4]

The *ASC* survives in six versions known as A, B, C, D, E and F, and a fragment known as H.[5] The A version is the oldest surviving version of the Chronicle, with the 'common stock' copied out into it up to the entry for 819, and additional material up to the year 1070. B was copied in the second half of the tenth century, ending at 977, and C in the mid-eleventh century, ending at 1066.[6] It is only the D and E versions that mention Margaret, and D is striking in this respect since its 1067 entry on Margaret's arrival in Scotland and marriage to Malcolm is conspicuously

[2] The chronicle's format developed from the notes made in the margins of Easter tables, which in turn evolved out of the need to record the passing of time and the key events of each year. These were then developed into fuller chronicle entries. The earliest entries in the *ASC* likewise are set out one-per-line in the manuscript, suggesting that they were intended to be brief. These entries are what constitute the 'common stock' material. The 'common stock' extends as far as 890, almost two hundred years before Margaret's first appearance. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. xvii. All subsequent references are to this edition. See also Antonia Grandsen, *Historical Writing in England I c.550–1307* (London: Routledge, 1974), p. 30.

[3] Grandsen, *Historical Writing*, p. 34; Nicholas Brooks, 'Why is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* About Kings?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 39 (2010), 43–70, (p. 43).

[4] Nancy Partner, *Writing Medieval History* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), p. 99.

[5] Shelfmarks: A: 'The Parker Chronicle', Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173; B: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A. vi; C: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. i; D: London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. iv; E: 'The Peterborough Chronicle', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 636; F: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A. viii; H: London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A. ix.

[6] Swanton, pp. xxi–xxiv.

long and seemingly crafted for emphasis. As such, it will be of the most concern to me in this chapter.

The D-version

The D-version of the *ASC* occurs on ff. 3–861 of London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B. iv. Swanton suggests a mid-eleventh century date for the copying, and Stafford more specifically suggests a post-1066 date for at least part of the D-version.[7] Cotton Tiberius B. iv was in Worcester Cathedral by 1565, but this does not necessarily mean that it was wholly or partly written or copied in Worcester.[8] Swanton contends that the main body of the text was copied from a now-lost Northern exemplar at either York or Ripon.[9] Certainly, D does appear to be a particularly Northern-focused version of the Chronicle, and a possible York origin is doubly suggestive, given the connections between the dioceses of York and Scotland.[10]

Swanton has suggested that in its original form the D-version was intended for the court of David I, Margaret's son.[11] There are several elements that make a connection with the court of David I seem likely, most notably the focus on Scottish affairs in general and Margaret in particular. However, given Brooks' contention that the *ASC* was produced at court under the supervision of various kings and then circulated to the clerics in the monasteries that copied it, it is also possible that the D-version of the *ASC* was not destined for David I's court, but rather

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[7] Swanton, p. xxv; Pauline Stafford, 'Chronicle D, 1067 and Women: Gendering Conquest in Eleventh-century England', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), pp. 208–23, (p. 210).
[8] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 6, MS D, ed. by G.P. Cubbin (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996), p. ix. All subsequent references to the D-text to this edition.
[9] Swanton, p. xxv.
[10] Throughout the early medieval period there was some degree of disagreement as to whether Scotland was under the jurisdiction of the diocese of York. During his reign, David I pushed for the independence of the Scottish church from the control of either York or Canterbury. G.S.W. Barrow, 'David I', *ODNB*, accessed 10.05.15.
[11] Swanton, p. xxv.

that exemplars were sent from court to York or Worcester, where it was copied in order to promote the Scottish court more widely in both Scotland and the North of England.[12] Given the focus on the English Margaret, and the political work this representation of her might achieve, this seems more likely than a more introspective process in which a Scottish-focused chronicle returned to the Scottish court without further dissemination.

Cotton Tiberius B. iv provides an illuminating context for the reception and production of the D-version. It is a relatively large manuscript (approximately 300 x 205mm) comprising 218 folios, of which 1 to 87 and 91 to 218 are parchment and 88 to 90 are paper. The manuscript is foliated. It currently survives in a modern binding, having been rebound by the British Museum in 1849.[13] As its physical makeup suggests, the manuscript itself is a composite of different texts. The D-text (covering the years 60BCE–261CE, 409–633CE, and 693–1080CE) fills ff. 3–86, but does not appear to have been copied into the manuscript all at the same time. Ff. 10–18 are identified by the British Library catalogue as having been copied in the second half of the sixteenth century while the rest of the text was copied gradually from the middle of the eleventh century to the second quarter of the twelfth century.[14] F. 87 contains the writs of King Cnut, which originated from Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century, presumably from another source.[15] These are immediately followed on ff. 88–90 by a copy of the *ASC* E-text for 1123–31 written in the hand of John Joscelyn (*d.*1603).[16] Joscelyn calls this text 'Chronica Saxonica Wigorniensis ecclesiae ab anno domini primo ad

[12] Brooks, 'About Kings' pp. 43–70, passim.
[13] I consulted this manuscript in microfilm form, and these physical details are from the British Library online catalogue <http://catalogue.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=1&dstmp=1437402535843&vid=BLVU1&fromLogin=true> accessed 18.03.15.
[14] British Library, online catalogue, accessed 18.03.15.
[15] British Library, online catalogue, accessed 18.03.15.
[16] John Joscelyn (1529–1603) was a Church of England clergyman and an Old English scholar. G. H. Martin, *ODNB*, accessed 23.03.15.

annum domini 1080'.[17] Thus, while comprising material from earlier centuries, the manuscript was placed in its present form only in the sixteenth century.

Joscelyn was a churchman and scholar. He had a deep interest in Old English as a subject for study and worked closely with the famous collector and archbishop Matthew Parker as a secretary. His edition of Gildas' history was published in 1568, and he was clearly interested in the study and preservation of pre-Conquest English history.[18] His addition to the D-version completes the narrative of Henry I's reign and presents this king as a friend to bishops and a successful military leader against a backdrop of political unrest between England and Normandy. The entry for 1131 ends with the despairing statement: 'Crist ræde for þa wrecce muneces of Burch 7 for þæt wrecee stede. Nu hem behofeð Cristes helpe 7 eall Cristenes folces.'[19] Clearly, this is not an image of a peaceful and politically stable England.

Walter of Guisborough's Chronicle 1066–1205 completes the manuscript, filling ff. 91 to 218. Walter's chronicle was written in the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century (or possibly the first quarter of the fifteenth century). In the course of his chronicles Walter relates the outcome of the 'Great Cause' in May 1291: 'uniuersis patuit […] regni Scocie ius supremum ad ipsum spectare et pertinere debere', unless something contrary were found by which the chronicle evidence could be refuted.[20] While Walter of Guisborough does not appear to advocate Scottish independence, there is nonetheless evidence of an interest in Scottish affairs and particularly the

[17] 'Saxon Chronicle of the church of Worcester from the first year of our Lord up to the year 1080'. Translation is my own.
[18] Martin, 'Joscelyn', accessed 14.04.15.
[19] Cotton MS Tiberius B. iv, 1131. Transcription is my own. 'May Christ take measures for the wretched monks of Peterborough and for that wretched place! Now they need the help of Christ and of all Christian people!' Trans. Swanton, p. 262.
[20] "it was clear to one and all that the overlordship of Scotland belonged and ought to belong to the king [of England]'. Walter of Guisborough, *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, *1212–1301*, ed. by Antonia Grandsen (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964), entry for the year 1291, p. 98. See also Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 66.

role chronicles might play in tipping the scales of the England-Scotland power balance. Walter also includes notes on Anglo-Scottish affairs from 1290–1314, the years of the Wars of Scottish Independence, and such gravitation towards Scottish concerns is no doubt due to the fact that the priory of Guisborough had strong links with the Bruce family.[21] That the Cotton Tiberius B. iv manuscript puts the D-version of the *ASC* alongside this chronicle implies that chronicle material was instrumental in the matter of independence. These texts together reflect a distinctly Northern English concern with the issue of Scottish independence. It would be reasonable to suggest that this compilation was made with an awareness of how these texts engaged with the political issues of Scottish independence and national identity.

So the D-text in which Margaret has an especial and unusual prominence survives in a manuscript that contextualises the Northern-England focused narrative of the D-chronicle within international concerns. It is accompanied first by a narrative of the Danish invasion and the rule of Cnut, then the Norman invasion – which Joscelyn provides in the sixteenth century as a kind of completion of the cycle of Anglo-Saxon history in the marriage of Matilda and Henry I – and finally Anglo-Scottish relations during the Wars of Independence.

Margaret in the D-text

As an Anglo-Saxon princess, Queen of Scots, and mother of the wife of Henry I, Margaret exists at the centre of the complex nexus of national relationships suggested by Cotton Tiberius B. iv. In the D-text, as it survives in the sixteenth-century compilation of the manuscript, Margaret stands as both an end point – the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal family – and a new origin point as the mother of Queen Matilda and a dynasty of Scottish kings.

[21] John Taylor, 'Walter of Guisborough', *ODNB*, accessed 24.09.16.

She first appears in the D-version of the *ASC* account of her marriage to Malcolm. The length and detail of this entry for 1067 has sparked speculation about a possible source and whether this might be a lost *life* of Margaret or Turgot's *Vita*.[22] It seems unlikely that Turgot was a direct source for the D-chronicler. The *ASC* D-version account of Malcolm and Margaret's marriage resembles Turgot's *Vita* only loosely, insofar as Margaret arrives in Scotland as a refugee and marries Malcolm unwillingly. However, the details are sufficiently different to suggest that the *ASC* D-version was not directly derived from Turgot. Malcolm's portrayal is more ambiguous and Margaret's decision to agree to the marriage is no longer a capitulation to the desires of her people but rather a troubling combination of fraternal pressure and divine ordination. The 1067 entry relates the arrangement of the marriage thus:

> þæs sumeres Eadgar cild[23] for ut mid his modor \Agatha/, 7 his twam sweostran, Margareta 7 Christina, 7 Mærlaswegen,[24] 7 fela godra manna mid heom, 7 comon to Scotlande on Malcholomes cyninges gryð, 7 he hi ealle underfeng. Ða begann \se cyngc Malcholom/ gyrnan his sweostor him to wife, Margaretan, ac he 7 his men ealle lange wiðcwædon, 7 eac heo sylf wiðsoc, 7 cwæð þæt heo hine ne nanne habban wolde, gyf hire seo uplice arfæstnys geunnan wolde, þæt heo on mægðhade mihtigan Drihtne mid lichom\licre/ heortan on þisan life sceortan on clænre forhæf\e/dnysse cweman mihte. Se kyng befealh georne hire breðer oð þæt he cwæð ia wið, 7 eac he elles ne dorste, for þan þe hi on his anwald becumene wæron.[25]

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[22] See: Thomas A. Bredehoft, 'Malcolm and Margaret: The Poem in Annal 1067D', in *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. by Alice Jorgensen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 31–48, (p. 33); *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. by John Earle and Charles Plummer, vol. 2 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1899), p. lxxviii; Swanton, p. 201.

[23] Swanton (p. 201) suggests that this 'cild' is an error and should instead read 'se wilda' ('The Wild'), since Orderic Vitalis gives Edgar this cognomen in his *Ecclesiastical History*; *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 194–5, 228–9. However, it is one 'Edric', identified by Orderic as the grandson of Edward the Confessor, to whom the epithet 'The Wild' is in fact applied in these episodes, and Swanton's suggestion thus seems to be based on a misreading.

[24] This mysterious 'Maerleswein' is identified by Swanton as the Sheriff of Lincoln and an extensive landowner throughout England. See fn. 14, p. 201. He does not appear in any extant version of Margaret's *Vita*. It is unclear exactly what role he might play in this account of Margaret's marriage.

[25] p. 82. Old English text from Cubbin, *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, as mentioned above. 'And that summer Prince Edgar went away, with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and Mærleswein and many good men with them, and came to Scotland under King Malcolm's protection and he received them all; then the king Malcolm began to desire his sister, Margaret, as wife, but he and his men opposed it for a long time, and also she herself refused, and declared that she would not have him, nor any, if the Graciousnsess on high would grant her that with bodily heart she might please the mighty

In this passage Malcolm is both gracious host – who 'hi ealle underfeng' ('received them all') – and demanding and powerful ruler who compels the agreement of Margaret's brother through the exertion of his 'anwald' ('power'). Unlike the Malcolm of the Dunfermline *Vita* who is love-struck and whose desire for Margaret to a large extent stems from his recognition of her royalty, nobility and innately superior nature, the Malcolm of the *ASC* D compels Margaret to marry him through the exertion of sovereign authority.[26] This account would perhaps have been more appealing to the Anglo-Scottish court – the destination, as Swanton suggests, of the D-version – but it fits the more general trend in the *ASC* of discussing political marriages largely without the euphemistic rhetoric of love and wooing.[27] Just as Cnut in the *ASC* has Emma 'feccean' ('fetched') rather than winning her as a wife through the wooing that the *Encomium Emmae* describes, the *ASC* D-version at 1067 emphasises how Margaret is brought to Malcolm.[28] The *ASC* thus represents bare political realities, but while this is typical of the *ASC*'s heavy focus on kings and their actions, after this point Margaret takes on a much more significant role.[29]

Lord with pure continence in maidenhood in this short life. The king eagerly pressed her brother until he said "yes" to it – also he dared not otherwise, because they had come into his power'. Swanton, p. 201.

[26] In the 'Dunfermline' *Vita*, one of the envoys says: 'Vidimus ibi quamdam ob forme incomparatam speciem et eloquencie facunditatem iocundam, tum ob ceterarum fecunditatem virtutum, iudicio meo dominam illius familie suspicans tibi hoc annuncio, et de cuius mirabili venustate et moralitate magis est admirandum quam narrandum' ('We saw there a certain woman, who because of her incomparable beauty of form, and the pleasant eloquence of her speech, and an abundance of other virtues, I announce this to you suspecting, in my judgement, that she is the mistress of this family, whose wonderful beauty and morality ought to be more admired than talked about'), The 'Dunfermline *Vita*', ed. and trans. by Catherine Keene in *St Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 171.

[27] Swanton, p. xxv.

[28] D 1017, p. 63; p. 154. This word 'feccean' is particularly significant since, as Orchard points out, when it is used of a person rather than an object it 'is always used of those at some serious social or other disadvantage', 'The Literary Background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 11 (2001), 156–83, (p. 176). Emma, in exile in Flanders, was at the same kind of social disadvantage that Margaret was when she and her brother and sister found themselves in Malcolm's kingdom, and the fiction of a marriage of love rather than of political expediency is equally likely to be far from the reality. See also: Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997; paperback 2001), pp. 28–40; Elizabeth Tyler, 'Fictions of Family: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Viator*, 36 (2005), pp. 149–79, passim.

[29] Brooks, 'About Kings', p. 43.

Despite use of the seemingly romantic 'gyrnan' ('desire') to describe Malcolm's wish to marry Margaret, the arrangement of that marriage is far from romantic, and stands at odds with the modern notion that Malcolm was a 'most impassioned wooer'.[30] In the *ASC*, the negotiation and persuasion takes place not between Malcolm and Margaret, but between Malcolm and Edgar, and the political pressure on Edgar and Margaret to agree to the marriage is made explicit. Nonetheless, *ASC* D does go into more detail than usual when discussing Malcolm's desire to marry. The use of so evocative a word as 'gyrnan' in a narrative usually characterised by a terse, bare style indicates the particular importance of the marriage to the D-chronicler, but still does not necessarily reflect romantic attraction and might just as easily reflect a political desire for marriage. Since this version lacks any other indication of a romantic or romanticised meeting, the latter seems more likely. Malcolm and Margaret's marriage appears to be precipitated by divine providence as well as Malcolm's interest (neither explicitly political nor explicitly romantic) in Margaret as a wife.

Furthermore, the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret is negotiated not just between interested parties, but also between Margaret and God. The *ASC* D account is that Margaret would not give up her maidenhood 'uplice arfæstnys geunnan wolde' ('if the Graciousness on high would grant [that she could keep it]').[31] Margaret's subsequent marriage therefore suggests that her queenship was a part of God's plan for her, for Scotland, and for the Anglo-Saxon royal family. This emphasis on the divine plan subsequently becomes more explicit as the chronicler elucidates both the predestined nature of Margaret's queenship, and the reasons that God wanted Margaret in Scotland:

> Hit wearð þa swa geworden swa God foresceawode on ær, 7 elles hit beon ne mihte, eallswa he sylf on his godspelle sæið þæt furðon an spearwa on gryn ne mæg

[30] p. 82; 'desire', p. 201, lit. 'yearned'. R. L. Graeme Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1954), p. 25.
[31] p. 82; p. 201.

befeallan forutan his foresceawunge.[32] Se forewitola Scyppend wiste on ær hwæt he of hyre gedon habban wolde, for þan þe heo sceolde on þan lande Godes lof (geeacnian) \ycean/ 7 þone kyng gerihtan of þam dweliandan pæðe 7 gebegean hine to beteran wege 7 his leode samod, 7 alegcean þa unþeawas þe seo þeod ær beeode, eallswa heo syððan dyde.[33]

The emphasis on Margaret's eradication of the 'unþeawas' ('evil customs') that the people followed is reminiscent of her reforming role in Turgot's *Vita*, and even more so of the Dunfermline version of this *Vita*, which is especially concerned with Margaret's substantial role as a religious and legal reformer.[34] That Margaret's role as reformer takes precedence over her role as saint – even her gospel-book is left out of this account – suggests that if the chronicler did base this account on Turgot's *Vita*, or a lost intermediary, all of the supernatural or spiritual aspects of Margaret's sainthood were omitted, leaving us with only Margaret's practical political deeds.

Furthermore, the chronicler's assertion that Margaret's arrival was 'swa God foresceawode' ('as provided by God') constructs Margaret as part of the divinely-ordained and providentially guided line of Anglo-Saxon kings. Margaret is unique as the only woman to be explicitly marked out by the chroniclers as part of a divine plan. Elsewhere in the chronicle, significant political acts and the deaths of kings and bishops are associated with natural disturbances in order to suggest

[32] This is a reference to Matthew 10:29.

[33] p. 82. 'So it came to pass as provided by God – and it could not be otherwise – just as he himself says in his gospel that even one sparrow cannot fall into a snare without his providence. The foreknowing Creator knew beforehand what he wanted to have done by her, because she would increase the glory of God in that land, and direct the king out of the path of error, and turn him and his people together towards a better way, and lay aside the evil customs which that nation earlier followed – just as she afterwards did', p. 201.

[34] In the Dunfermline *Vita*, love for Margaret compels Malcolm to make five specific legal changes: to allow anyone to free any slave should they choose to do so; to prevent the King from receiving a bribe from theives or robbers; that those who had been exiled and then pardoned could not then bring charges based on any previous action; that the King could not have himself adopted by a rich, childless family in order to inherit their money; and finally that the King could not sit in judgement on any case brought against him, nor could he set a judge higher in rank than the accused person. Margaret also reformed some church practices: she ensured Easter was celebrated on the right date and the Eucharist was taken, and she urged people to respect the Sabbath. Keene, *St Margaret*, pp. 189–97. These are probably the practices to which the *ASC* D-version refers.

God's providence.[35] In the case of Margaret's marriage, the role of providence is made explicit by reference to God's plan. This links her with this long line of God-sanctioned kingship and marks her out as a particularly significant female figure in the chain. Furthermore, the reference to the sparrow is reminiscent of Bede's comments on God's control over the life of all men, including kings.[36] This locates Margaret as a pivotal figure in both the sacred and secular history of Britain. Explicitly put in place by the hand of providence, Margaret, like the kings who have gone before her, embodies God's providential preference for the rightful Anglo-Saxon royal family.

In addition, Malcolm has greater royal and political significance in *ASC* D than he does in the 'Cotton' version of Turgot's *Vita*.[37] He appears as a powerful king when he meets Margaret for the first time, and likewise during their marriage he is a 'full witter' ('very [wise]') man, a king who is able to incorporate his wife's piety into his rule for combined spiritual and political benefit.[38] There is no mention here, as there is in Turgot, of an illiterate king bringing books to a beloved wife. Instead, we see an image of a royal couple working in partnership.[39] Strikingly, this

[35] Mention is made throughout the *ASC* to solar eclipses and comets at moments of especial significance. For example: E 678 'Here the star *comet* appeared […] And Bishop Wilfrid was driven out of his bishopric by King Ecgfrith', p. 38; E 744 'Here Daniel retired in Winchester, and Unferth succceeded to the bishopric. And there were many shooting stars. And Wilfrid the Young, who was bishop in York, passed away on *29 April*: he was bishop for 30 years', p. 47; A & E 885 'And the same year, before midwinter, Carl, king of the Franks, passed away […]; he passed away the year in which the sun grew dark', pp. 78–9 (emphasis original).

[36] 'Another of the king's chief men agreed with this advice and with these wise words and then added, 'This is how the present life of man on earth, King, appears to me in comparison with that time which is unknown to us. You are sitting feasting with your ealdormen and thegns in winter time; the fire is burning on the hearth in the middle of the hall and all inside is warm, while on the outside the wintry storms of rain and snow are raging; and a sparrow flies swiftly through the hall. It enters one door and quickly flies out through the other. For the few moments it is inside, the storm and wintry tempest cannot touch it, but after the briefest moment of calm, it flits from your sight, out of the wintry storm and into it again. So this life of man appears but for a moment; what follows or indeed what went before, we know not at all. If this new doctrine brings us more certain information, it seems right that we should accept it". Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 95. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[37] London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius D. iii, ff. 179v–186r.

[38] p. 82; p. 201.

[39] See further discussion of this in Chapter 2, p. 95. See also Jo-Ann MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship in the Early Middle Ages ', in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. by Sandro Sticca (New York: MRTS, 1996), pp. 51–80.

is the single representation of effective co-sovereignty in a royal couple in the whole of the *ASC* tradition. Even Edith and Edward the Confessor, who appear as a cooperative pair of saints in the *Vita Ædwardi*, do not receive such treatment in the *ASC*.[40] Turgot emphasises Margaret's positive influence on Malcolm and supports this with a quotation from Paul's letters – 'Saluabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem' ('through a faithful wife, a heathen man is sanctified').[41] The same quotation appears in the *ASC* D account but the chronicler also supplies the second half of the verse: 'sic et mulier infidelis per uirum fidelem' ('likewise the unbelieving wife through the believing man').[42] This counterpoint presents a much more balanced picture of Malcolm and Margaret's marriage. Since only the first half of the biblical maxim appears in Turgot, the relationship between Malcolm and Margaret appears as a one-sided process of influence. A mutual reinforcing of piety is restored in the *ASC* D-version, the chiasmus both expressing and enacting the symbiotic transference of influence between husband and wife and cementing the representation of Malcolm and Margaret as a royal couple engaged in cooperative rule. This particular use of Scripture further suggests that the D-chronicler was at least aware of Turgot's *Vita*, even if he did not draw on it directly, and potentially chose to include the whole quotation in order to emphasise this sense of balance. Such a focus on cooperative rule is all the more striking for the fact that it appears in a chronicle, much of which is broadly objective, rather than in a text commissioned by the daughter of the queen being represented. D does not, as Turgot's *Vita* does, diminish Malcolm to ennoble Margaret, but instead shows them as worthy partners to one another.

[40] Pauline Stafford discusses the role of women in D 1067 more generally in her article 'Gendering Conquest', pp. 208–23.
[41] Latin text, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea*, ed. by John Hodgson-Hinde, vol. 1 (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society, 1868), p. 259. Translations are my own. All subsequent references are to this edition. This maxim is paraphrased from 1 Corinthians 7:14.
[42] p. 82; p. 201.

This is also surprising, in light of D's probable compilation at York or Worcester and Malcolm's history of invading Northumbria, but it may reflect a preference for a royal family through whom the West Saxon royal line survives in the form of Margaret and her children.[43] To the author of D this was, perhaps, preferable to the post-Conquest Anglo-Norman court, especially if the 1067 entry was written before the marriage of Henry I to Margaret's daughter Matilda. Edgar himself drove the Normans from Northumbria in the failed rebellion of 1069 that resulted in his and Margaret's flight to the Scottish court.[44] Given the history of Northern resistance to Norman rule, it seems likely that a Northern chronicler might show preference to the branch of the Anglo-Saxon royal family which it had supported in a failed coup against the Normans, even if it could not express open preference for the leader of the rebellion, Edgar. As such, the Anglo-Scottish court makes an appropriate subject for the Northern chroniclers to present as a positive alternative to Anglo-Norman rule.

It is only after its image of combined and cooperative rule that the *ASC* D-version returns to Margaret's lineage. While Turgot's *Vita* – destined for the Anglo-Norman court – created a fictitious bloodline link between Margaret and Richard, the father of Emma of Normandy, the *ASC* D-version is concerned almost exclusively with Margaret's connection to the Anglo-Saxon royal family.[45] The detailed patrilineal descent resembles the early genealogies in the A-version

[43] Swanton (p. xxv) suggests Worcester copyist, but an exemplar from York or Ripon. G.W.S. Barrow, 'Malcolm III', *ODNB*, accessed 29.07.15.
[44] Nicholas Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling: Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Cruasder', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), pp. 204–5.
[45] Margaret is explicitly linked to 'Ricardus quoque, genitor genitricis ipsius Edwardi, Emmæ' ('Richard also, father to Emma the mother of this Edward'). This Richard was 'velut alter David, […] dominus populorum constitutus, servorum Christi servus fuit humillimus' ('like a second David; though raised to be lord over his people, he was the most humble servant of the servants of Christ'), Latin text, *Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea*, ed. by John Hodgson-Hinde, vol. 1 (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society, 1868), p. 237. Translations are my own.

which serve to glorify the Cerdicing kings, and link Margaret into this narrative of unbroken kingship:[46]

> Of geleaffullan 7 æðelan cynne heo wæs asprungon, hire fæder wæs Eadward æþeling, Eadmundes sunu kynges, Eadmund Æþelreding, Æþelred Eadgaring, Eadgar Eadreding, 7 swa forð on þæt cynecynn, 7 hire modorcynn gæð to Heinrice casere, þe hæfde anwald ofer Rome.[47]

As a woman married to a king who had sworn fealty to William the Conqueror and encouraged her brother Edgar the Ætheling to do likewise, thereby giving up his claim to the throne, Margaret presents little obvious threat to the Anglo-Norman ruling family. She is able to function safely here as an emblem of the now-lost Old English royal line.[48] Since Margaret is not a king, and therefore not directly threatening to Anglo-Norman rule, she can be presented as an emblem of the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal family. It is this genealogical significance that takes prominence. While Turgot in his near-contemporary biography takes pains to present Margaret as a saint, this was clearly not the only reason for her importance.[49] The *ASC* D-version attributes Margaret's virtuous and effective queenship to her bloodline: she is '[o]f geleaffullan 7 æðelan cynne […] asprungon' ('sprung from a believing and noble race').[50] There is no need to represent Margaret as a saint because her worldly virtues – her noble blood and her good queenship – are what is significant to the D-chronicler and his audience.

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[46] Renee Trilling, 'The Writing of History in the Early Middle Ages: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Context', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Clare A. Lees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 232–56, (p. 232).

[47] p. 83. 'She was sprung from a believing and noble race; her father was the æthling Edward, son of King Edmund – Edmund Æthelred's offspring, Æthelred Edgar's offspring, Edgar Eadred's offspring and so forth in that royal family; and her mother's family goes back to the emperor Henry who had dominion over Rome', p. 202.

[48] Hooper, 'Edgar the Ætheling', p. 205.

[49] Although Turgot presents his biography as an exemplary life of a queen, he does describe Margaret as 'Sanct[a]' (p. 249) ('a saint') and record both a miracle and Margaret's saintly death.

[50] p. 83; p. 202.

There has been some discussion as to whether all or part of this section on Malcolm and Margaret's marriage is, in fact, a poem.[51] This is significant insofar as the poems in the *ASC*, such as the *Battle of Brunanburh*, are thought to have been court-commissioned propaganda poems that circulated independently before being incorporated into the chronicle text.[52] As such, if we are to take the section on Malcolm and Margaret's marriage as a poem, we must consider if it circulated as propaganda, and if so who might have benefitted from this representation of the Scottish court.

As to the precise limits of any potential 'Margaret poem' in this section, opinion is divided. Earle and Plummer identify only five lines of rhyming verse:

> *ond* cwæð þæt heo hine ne nanne habban wolde.
> gyf hire seo uplice arfæstnys geunnan wolde.
> þæt heo on mægðhade mihtigan drihtne.
> mid lichoman heortan. on þisan life sceortan.
> on clænre forhæfdnysse cweman mihte.[53]

They suggest that these lines are a quotation from a lost poetic *vita*. These lines are certainly not distinguished from the body text of the manuscript, but neither are other poems such as the *Battle of Brunanburh* distinguished in every manuscript in which they appear.[54] However, if they are indeed rhyming verse, the pattern is strange and, in fact, 'mihte' does not appear to rhyme with 'drihtne'. Bredehoft expands the potential scope of the 'Margaret poem' by arguing for considering the whole 1067 entry as an independent (and non-rhyming) poem. Rather than suggesting this is a poem excerpted from a lost *Life*, Bredehoft argues instead that this is a poetic creation either by the chronicler or added in the same manner as *The Battle of Brunanburh* and the

[51] Bredehoft, 'Malcolm and Margaret', pp. 31–48, passim.
[52] 'The Battle of Brunanburh' survives in four of the *ASC* manuscripts – all except E and F – at the year 937. In the 'Parker' Chronicle (A) alone it appears presented as verse in the manuscript. See Swanton, p. xxv.
[53] Earle and Plummer, *Two Chronicles*, p. 201.
[54] See Swanton, p. 106.

other short propaganda poems.[55] It is not my intention to determine the extent of any 'Margaret poem' in the Chronicle or to attempt to speculate about a lost *vita*, but instead to consider the significance of what is, at the very least, an extended poetic treatment of Margaret. Trilling argues that:

> A brief poetic reflection about St Margaret's hesitancy to marry Malcolm of Scotland makes sense both because of Margaret's reputation for piety and because her granddaughter, [the Empress] Matilda, would be a party to the succession crisis following the death of Henry I in 1135. The kinds of event memorialized in these poems reflect a growing sense of the Chronicle's widening scope – specifically, of its scope beyond the borders of Wessex and the temporal influence of the Cerdicings – as well as the longue durée of its historical range.[56]

I follow Trilling in suggesting that it is the memorialising function of poetry that is most significant to the representation of Margaret here. The poetic treatment of Margaret's marriage to Malcolm rather than her deeds of charity, her miracles or her death (which is only dealt with briefly at E 1093) serves to memorialise the joining in marriage of the last Anglo-Saxon princess to the King of the Scots.

Stafford has argued for a reading of this long entry as one in which women have a special prominence. Women 'symbolise the English' as conquered and appropriated by competing kings, and through them the causes and consequences of conquest are explored.[57] Women are indeed particularly prominent in D 1067, but this is largely by virtue of the focus placed on Margaret. Accordingly, this entry should instead be understood as having an epitaphic function in its particular focus on Margaret.[58] Though it is Margaret's marriage rather than her death that is recorded at length, this section offers an opportunity for the Anglo-Saxon royal line to

[55] Bredehoft, 'Malcolm and Margaret', p. 34.
[56] Trilling, 'The Writing of History', p. 248.
[57] Stafford, 'Gendering Conquest', p. 217.
[58] For example, both MS C and D have a poetic epitaph for Edward the Confessor at the year 1065, praising his virtuous kingship and his defence of the nation. See Swanton, pp. 194–5.

'guarantee a future exchange of oblivion for memory and purchase a moment of life'.[59] The Chronicle here memorialises the joining of the Scottish and Anglo-Saxon royal lines, rather than the death of a king. Thus there is no need to posit an innovative use of verse form or even a lost *Life* in order to see that Margaret enjoys special prominence among not only her contemporary queens, but queens in general in the *ASC*. Many kings' deaths are memorialised, but this entry stands alone as the only marriage given prominent treatment.[60]

Likewise, in the D and E versions of the *ASC*, Emma of Normandy cuts nothing like the figure of a valued and co-ruling queen that she does in the *Ecomium Emmae* and on its frontispiece.[61] In E she is mentioned just once by name, in the entry for 1023, and here she is discussed in relation to her son Harthacnut.[62] Instead, she appears mostly as 'the Lady'. In D, Emma appears as little more than an item of property: '7 þa toforan kalendas Augusti het se cyng feccean him þæs oðres kynges lafe Æþelredes him to wife, Ricardes dohtor.'[63] Even if we take out of consideration the fact that D might at some point have been destined for the Scottish court, there is still a great discrepancy between the way Margaret is represented (as an unambiguously positive force) and the relative unimportance of both Emma of Normandy and Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor. Whether it was the case that the texts praising Emma and Edith were not produced in time to influence the chroniclers and Earl and Plummer's putative lost *vita* of

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[59] Anne Carson, *Economy of the Unlost* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 78.
[60] Compared with Edith and Emma, Margaret enjoys especial prominence in the eyes of the D-chronicler. Accounts of Edith are brief, and appear only in the C and E versions: at C 1044 and E 1043 we are told only 'Here King Edward took the daughter of Earl Godwine as his queen'. As she was a queen-saint, we might expect Edith to enjoy the same special prominence as Margaret but she is not even mentioned by name in the D-version. Both Edith and Emma appear to have been more divisive figures in their lifetimes, so perhaps this contributed to a fuller picture of Margaret appearing in the *ASC*. But aside from this both Edith and Emma married into the Anglo-Saxon royal line rather than being descended from it. Margaret makes a more suitable focus, since she embodies the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal line and there is no contemporary male figure of similar status apart from her brother Edgar Ætheling, whose failures to gain power make him a less than attractive subject for the *ASC*.
[61] London, British Library, MS Additional 33241, f. iv.
[62] Swanton, p. 156.
[63] D 1017, p. 63. 'And then before 1 August the king ordered the widow of the former king Æthelred, Richard's daughter, to be fetched to him as wife', p. 154.

Margaret was, or simply that they were not of such great political interest to the D-chronicler is impossible to know. The *ASC* might be focused on kings in general and the Anglo-Saxon kings in particular, but after the death of the last Anglo-Saxon king and Edgar Ætheling's failure to secure the kingship, Margaret becomes the next most obvious focal point. Certainly she is of more interest than either a Norman king or her husband the King of the Scots. As such it is not wholly surprising that Margaret receives this unusual prominence. The emphasis placed on her marriage serves as a memorialisation of the end of that royal line, and a marker of when it becomes something else: an Anglo-Scottish dynasty at a Scottish court, closer both geographically and politically – it seems – to the D-chronicler in 1067 and the years immediately following.

The prominence of Anglo-Saxon models of kingship is also evident in the representations of Margaret and Malcolm in later entries in D. As with the image of Malcolm as a powerful ruler at his and Margaret's marriage, the D-chronicle subsequently presents an image in later entries of the Scottish court as a rich and powerful one. The repeated recipient of this wealth is Margaret's brother Edgar. In 1075 Edgar comes twice to Malcolm and Margaret's court, and the two – conspicuously acting together – offer him favour, protection and riches that he needs:

> On þissum gere Wyllelm cyngc for ofer sæ to Normandige. 7 Eadgar cild com of Fleminga lande into Scotlande on Sancte Grimbaldes[64] mæssedæg, 7 se kyngc Malcholom 7 his sweostor Margareta hine underfengon mid mycclan weorðscype. On þære ilcan tide sende se kyng of Francrice, Filippus, gewrit to him, 7 bead him þæt he to him come, 7 he wolde geofan him þone castel æt Mustræl, þæt he mihte syððan dæghwamlice his unwinan unþancas don. Hwæt þa se cyngc Malcolm 7 his sweoster Margareta geafon him myccla geofa 7 manega gærsama 7 eallon his mannan, on scynnan mid pælle betogen, 7 on merðerne pyleceon, 7 graschynnene, 7 hearm ascynnene, 7 on pællon, 7 on gyldenan faton, 7 on seolfrenan, 7 hine 7 ealle his scyperan mid mycclan weorðscipe of his gryðe alædde. Ac on þære fare heom yfele gelamp, þa hi ut on sæ wæron, þæt heom on becom swiðe hreoh weder, 7 seo

[64] Saint Grimbald (820 – 8th July 903) was a ninth-century Benedictine monk from the Abbey of Saint Bertin in France. Some time around 892, Grimbald was invited to England by King Alfred. He came, but refused to take on the Diocese of Canterbury because he wanted to remain a monk. Grimbald appears to bear no special significance here, other than proving a loose analogue to Margaret's own life, in which a foreign king offers her temporal power which she is unwilling to take.

> wode sæ 7 se stranga wind hi on þæt land awearp þæt ealle heora scypa toburston, 7 hi sylfe earforðlice to lande coman, 7 heora gærsama forneh eall losade, 7 his men eac wurdon sume gelæhtæ of Frencyscan mannan, ac he sylf 7 his ferestan menn ferdon eft ongean to Scotlande, sume hreowlice on fotan gangende, 7 sume earmlice ridende. Ða gerædde se kyngc Malcholom him þæt he sende to Wyllelme cynge ofer sæ, 7 bæde his gryðes, 7 he eac swa dyde, 7 se cyngc him þæs getiðade, 7 æfter him sende. 7 se kyngc eft Malcolm 7 his sweostor him 7 eallon his mannan unarimede gærsama geafon, 7 swiðe weorðlice hine eft of heora gryðe sendon. 7 se scirgerefa of Eoferwic com him togeanes æt Dunholme, 7 ferde ealne weig mid him, 7 let him findan mete 7 foddor æt ælcan castelle þær hi to comon, oð þæt hig ofer sæ to þam kynige coman. 7 se kyngc Wyllelm mid micclan weorðscype þa hine underfengc, 7 he wæs þær þa on his hirede, 7 toc swilce gerihta swa he him gelagade.[65]

Several elements combine here. Edgar appears as a political agitator as different kings attempt to exploit his family connections against William the Conqueror. The King of France tries to bribe Edgar into conflict, promising him a castle by which 'he mihte syððan dæghwamlice his unwinan unþancas don' ('he could daily do ill-turns to those not his friends'), the implication being that these enemies are the men of William the Conqueror. Edgar is further presented both as unwise and unlucky. He is faced with a storm that destroys his ship and leaves him in need of returning to Scotland. The 'hreoh weder, 7 […] wode sæ 7 [and] stranga wind' ('rough weather, stormy seas and strong wind') all seem to suggest divine disapproval of Edgar's intended allegiance with the French king. Furthermore, although here it is not made explicit, like the storm that brought

[65] p. 86. 'In this year King William went across the sea to Normandy, and on the Feast of St Grimbald Prince Edgar came from the land of the Flemings into Scotland, and the king Malcolm and his sister Margaret received him with great honour. At the same time, Philip, the king of France, sent a letter to him and ordered him to come to him. And he would give him the castle at Montreuil so that afterwards he could daily do ill-turns to those not his friends. Well, then the king Malcolm and his sister Margaret gave him and all his men great gifts and many treasures in furs covered with purple cloth, and in pelisses of marten-fur, and miniver-fur and ermine-fur and in purple cloth, and in golden and in silver vessels, and led him and all his sailors out of his domain with great honour. But on the journey it turned out badly for them while they were at sea, because very rough weather came on them, and the raging sea and the strong wind cast them on that land so that all their ships broke up, and they themselves came to land with difficulty, and well-nigh all their treasure was lost. And also some of his men were captured by the French men, but he himself and those of his fittest men travelled back again to Scotland, some pitiably walking on foot, some wretchedly riding. Then the king Malcolm advised him that he send to King William across the sea, and ask for his protection, and so also he did, and the king granted him that and sent for him. And the king Malcolm and his sister again gave him and all his men countless treasures and very honourably sent him out of their domain again. And the sheriff of York came to meet them at Durham, and travelled all the way with them, and had them found food and fodder at each castle they came to, until they came across the sea of the king. And the king William then received him with great honour, and he was then there in his court and took such privileges as he decreed for him', pp. 209–10.

Margaret, Edgar and Christina to Scotland, the weather functions as an agent of providence, preventing Edgar from making more foolish mistakes and bringing him back to his sister who, along with her husband, offers him both wise advice and great riches.

The power and prestige of the Scottish court are emphasised repeatedly through the list of the riches that Malcolm and Margaret gift to Edgar – gifts given 'on merðerne pyleceon, 7 graschynnene, 7 hearm ascynnene, 7 on pællon, 7 on gyldenan faton, 7 on seolfrenan'.[66] The second time Edgar comes to them, they give him and his men 'unarimede' ('countless') gifts once more. The listing the D-chronicler performs displays the wealth of the Scottish court, as might be appropriate to a chronicle sent out from the Scottish court. Within Anglo-Saxon culture, good kingship was characterised by the possession of riches, as an outward manifestation of the 'luck' that divine endorsement of a particular king provided.[67] Furthermore, these riches are suggestive of the Old English literary convention of the gift-giving king, and stand at odds with Turgot's representation of Margaret's riches as ennobling the Scottish court and Ritchie's subsequent reading of Margaret as a Normanising civilising influence.[68] The Old English Maxims, too, describe the ideal king and queen as joint gift-givers.[69] Thus, in the *ASC* D-version, the Scottish royal couple form a picture of riches and gift-giving in line with the ideal rulers of

[66] 'in furs covered with purple cloth, and in pelisses of marten-fur, and miniver-fur and ermine-fur and in purple cloth, and in golden and in silver vessels'.
[67] William A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 13.
[68] The identification of rich gifts with good kingship and lordship appears consistently throughout the Anglo-Saxon poetic and wider literary tradition. Both *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* characterise their good lords as givers of rich gifts. Respectively the exiles remember 'sincþege' ('giving of treasure') from the 'goldwine' ('gold-giving lord') (34-46) and 'hringþege' ('receiving of rings') (44). Both in *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1450: An Anthology*, ed. by Elaine Treharne, 3rd edn. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). See also Ritchie, *Normans in Scotland*, p. 69.
[69] 'Cyning sceal mid ceape cwene gebicgan,/ bunum ond beagum; bu sceolon ærest/ geofum god wesan.' ('A king must buy a queen with goods, with goblets and rings; both must first be good at giving gifts.') Maxims I in *Old English Shorter Poems,* ed. and trans. by Robert E. Bjork (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), lines 80–2.

Anglo-Saxon literary tradition.[70] It is, of course, perfectly possible that the same representation of the riches of the Scottish court registers differently in different contexts. For the D-chronicler these gifts are the joint gifts of Margaret and Malcolm, whereas for Turgot, these are riches that Margaret introduces to the court 'quod regia dignitas ab ea exigebat'.[71] Nonetheless, in both cases the 'conspicuous consumption' of the Scottish court serves to promote its wealth and power internally and abroad, thus proclaiming that the Scottish court is no less powerful or dignified than its Anglo-Norman counterpart.[72]

For the D-chronicler, Malcolm appears as a powerful distributor of treasure according to the models of both Old English literary tradition and Anglo-Saxon culture. Furthermore, Margaret and Malcolm provide more than monetary riches. Malcolm offers Edgar counsel: 'Ða gerædde se kyngc Malcholom him þæt he sende to Wyllelme cynge ofer sæ, 7 bæde his gryðes'.[73] Margaret and Malcolm's potential to be threatening to the new Norman king is diffused through this dramatisation of their advice to Edgar to seek friendship. They foster harmony rather than stoking rivalry. This might suggest that the chronicler expected the chronicle to be read outside of the Scottish court, and was invested in representing Malcolm and Margaret as wise and powerful rulers. But it also constructs this powerful and wealthy Scottish court as acting in cooperation with the Anglo-Norman court of England; Malcolm and Margaret pose no threat to William's rule, and by implication neither do their heirs. The image of a powerful but friendly Scottish king and queen might therefore serve to assuage English concerns about instability in

[70] Se Chapter 2 above for discussion of the riches in Margaret's *Vita*, p. 100.
[71] p. 242, 'because she [was obliged] to carry out what was required by the dignity of the king'.
[72] 'Conspicuous consumption' is the ostentatious display of luxury goods in order to convey wealth and social status. The term was coined by T. Veblen in his monograph *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, reprint with introduction by C. Wright Mills (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992), esp. pp. 60–80, 94–8, 118–31. See also: A.B. Trigg, 'Veblen, Bourdieu, and Conspicuous Consumption', *Journal of Economic Issues*, 35 (2001), pp. 99–115; Huntington, 'Conspicious Consumption', pp. 149–64, passim.
[73] 'Then the king Malcolm advised him that he send to King William across the sea'. Old English heroic poetry often contained segments of advice. For example: *Beowulf*, 1700–84; *Christ B*, 659–85. For fuller discussion see Antonina Harbus, *The Life of the Mind in Old English Poetry* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002).

the North, and discourage any attempts to intervene – militarily or otherwise – in Scottish affairs. This positive representation of Malcolm's court is all the more striking considering Malcolm's history of raiding in Northumberland.[74]

Additions to the pre-980 'common stock' in later years potentially took the form (in part) of royally-sanctioned and commissioned bulletins which were then disseminated by clerics associated with the royal household and subsequently copied into the chronicle by the monks who kept the compiled copy of the annals.[75] Of these additions to the common stock, Brooks suggests that '[t]he dissemination of the *Chronicle* might therefore either have comprised a proactive campaign of royal drum-beating […] or might have been a much more passive process, wherein the current king's priests occasionally granted access to their copy of the annals to ecclesiastics of whom they approved'.[76] If the former were the case with the 'Margaret poem' section, we might safely assume that this did not, at least, come from a pre-Queen-Matilda Anglo-Norman court, and, given the D-version's provenance from Worcester or York, it is more likely to have come from a Northumbrian household or the Scottish court. If the latter were the case, it presupposes ecclesiastics in York (or Worcester) copying something favourable to the Scottish court. Whether this version was written from within to flatter the Scottish court or disseminated further afield to promote it in England – or indeed a combination of the two – cannot be determined for certain. Nonetheless, it seems from the representation of Malcolm as a king in a strikingly Anglo-Saxon mould and the emphasis on Margaret's Anglo-Saxon heritage that – if not intended to promote the Scottish court *per se* – the D-version was at least written in order to promote Margaret's children as potential heirs to the English throne. Such a version of

74 Barrow, 'Malcolm III', accessed 29.07.15
75 Brooks, 'About Kings', p. 60.
76 Brooks, 'About Kings', p. 51.

history was potentially attractive to a Northern English audience who had, in Edgar's 1069 rebellion, shown themselves to be favourable to that branch of the West Saxon royal line.

Margaret in the E-version

Despite D's heavy focus on Margaret, only the E-version (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 636) offers an account of Margaret's death.[77] Accounts of the deaths of rulers are found throughout the *ASC*, but Margaret is again conspicuous as the only queen whose death is dwelt upon. This description, however, is much shorter and less hagiographical than Turgot's account of her death and is focused on the events leading up to her death rather than her sainthood afterwards.[78] We are told only that 'Ða þa seo gode cwen Margarita þis gehyrde, hyre þa leofstan hlaford 7 sunu þus beswikene, heo wearð oð deað on mode geancsumed 7 mid hire prestan to cyrcean eode 7 hire gerihtan underfeng 7 æt Gode abæd. þæt heo hire gast ageaf'.[79] While in this account we are certainly presented with the death of a virtuous ruler, the account lacks the hagiographical embellishments found in both Margaret's contemporary biography and the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scottish chronicles like Bower's *Scotichronicon*.[80] Despite the *ASC*'s preoccupation with kings, it is Margaret's death rather than Malcolm's that is dwelt upon since it is she, not he, who is the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal line. Margaret's virtuous queenship and pious death are not functions of Malcolm's heathenish or imprudent kingship; rather her virtuous qualities bear only tangential relevance to the masculine world of war and

[77] The D-version as it is preserved in Cotton Tiberius B. iv does, however, finish at 1080, so it is possible that it once contained an account of Margaret's death that is now lost.

[78] 'Like the church at Westminster, the verse s.a. 1065 is mean to stand as a monument to the king who will later be known as "the Confessor". Introduced by the phrase *swa hyt her æfter seigð* and set off from the preceding text by an initial capital, the encomium memorializes Edward as both Chrisitan king and scion of the great House of Wessex', Renee Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia: Historical Representation in Old English Verse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), p. 209.

[79] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 7, MS E, ed. by Susan Irvine (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), p. 103. All subsequent references are to this edition. 'When the good queen Margaret heard this – her dearest lord and son thus betrayed – she became anguished in mind to the point of death and went to church with her priests and received her rites and prayed to God that she might give up her spirit', p. 228.

[80] See Chapter 5.

politics in the eyes of the E-chronicler. The chronicle account is more concerned with the political complexities between men than Margaret's incipient sanctity.

Her political significance is further compounded by the discord that results from her and Malcolm's deaths:

> ða Scottas þa Dufenal to cynge gecuron Melcolmes broðer 7 ealle þa Englisce ut adræfdon. þe ær mid þam cynge Melcolme wæron. Ða þa Dunecan Melcolmes cynges sunu þis eall gehyrde þus gefaren se on þæs cynges hyrede Willelmes wæs swa swa his fæder hine ures cynges fæder ær to gisle geseald hæfde 7 her swa syððan belaf, he to þam cynge com 7 swilce getrywða dyde swa se cyng æt him habban wolde; 7 swa mid his unne to Scotlande for mid þam fultume þe he begytan mihte Engliscra 7 Frenciscra. and his mæge Dufenal þes rices benam 7 to cynge wearð underfangen. Ac þa Scottas hi eft sume gegaderoden 7 forneah ealle his mænu ofslogan, 7 he sylf mid feawum ætbærst. Syððan hi wurdon sehte. on þa gerad þæt he næfre eft Englisce ne Frencisce into þam lande ne gelogige.[81]

While Margaret lived, the Scottish, English and French existed in harmony. After her death the kingdom reverted to fracture and discord. If Malcolm and Margaret's rule represented the peaceful synthesis of Scottish, Anglo-Saxon and Norman French within a unified court, then that synthesis is shown to be painfully short-lived by the E-chronicler and brought to its end by the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret. The emphasis on the prohibition against the English and French at the end of the 1093 entry serves to articulate that the Scots are a separate people and once again 'foreign'. This makes a stark contrast with the D-version, in which Malcolm and Margaret's court is positioned as more 'English' than the Anglo-Norman rule of William the Conqueror.[82] Furthermore, the E chronicler at 1087 identifies himself as one who had been part

[81] pp. 103–4. 'And then the Scots chose Malcolm's brother Donald as king, and drove out all the English who were there with the king Malcolm earlier. Then when Duncan, King Malcolm's son, heard all this had happened thus – he was in the court of King William as his father had earlier given him as a hostage to our king's father, and remained here thus – he came to the king and gave such pledges as the king wanted to have from him and thus went to Scotland with such support of English and French as he could get and deprived his relative Donald of the kingdom, and was received as king. But some of the Scots afterwards gathered and killed well-nigh all his men, and he himself escaped with a few. Afterwards they became reconciled on the condition that he never again lodged English men or French men in that land', p. 228.

[82] Susan Reynolds suggests that '[i]n 900 the idea of a people as a community of custom, law and descent was already well entrenched in western society, though peoples were not yet normally envisaged as

of the wider circle of William I's household, and in fact at 1086 E gives a less than flattering obituary of William I, criticising his and his nobles' love of gold.[83] Once again, Malcolm and Margaret's court forms an idealised alternative to the court of William the Conqueror, one which unites the peoples of Britain in a way that the Conqueror's court does not. It would not be until after Malcolm and Margaret's death, when William's son Henry I married Margaret's daughter Matilda, that the Anglo-Norman and the Anglo-Saxon royal lines would join and harmony would be restored.

In both the D and E versions of the *ASC*, Margaret is first and foremost an Anglo-Saxon princess and both chroniclers' treatment of her is purely political, devoid of the hagiographical colouring that characterises Margaret in her contemporary biography and in later Scottish chronicles. The *ASC* tradition's investment in the unbroken line of West Saxon Cerdicing kings finds its conclusion in Margaret, the last of the line and a queen rather than a king. A little of this lustre is transferred onto Malcolm who in D – in cooperation with Margaret – appears as an ideal queen, dispensing riches and advice. Still, it is Margaret on whom both ultimately focus, and in these she is memorialised like a king. Furthermore, Brooks' contention that the *ASC* was generally court-produced and circulated as royal propaganda is highly suggestive when we consider the image of Malcolm and Margaret's court being promulgated in the North – to those English who supported Edgar Ætheling's claim to the throne – as one of rightful rulership and idealised Anglo-Saxon sovereignty.

The focus on royal power and the politicisation of Malcolm and Margaret's court is striking, but not out of keeping with the dominant themes and preoccupations of the *ASC* as a whole; the

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constituting kingdoms', *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 256. Certainly this representation of the post-Malcolm III Scotland appears to focus more on people than on kingdom.

[83] Brooks, 'About Kings', p. 57.

wider tradition focuses on the lives, deaths and political dealings of the Anglo-Saxon kings to such an extent that Nicholas Brooks has suggested that a more appropriate name would be the 'Old English Royal Annals'.[84] Certainly, in terms of representation of Margaret, she appears more than anything else as a royal. Margaret is only striking insofar as she is a female ruler portrayed in this manner.

Alone among women in the *ASC*, Margaret enjoys the special prominence usually only afforded to kings. Her importance is political, but in the *ASC* kingship is indivisible from divine favour. Margaret does not need to appear as a proto-saint in order to express God's protection and promotion of her queenship. For the *ASC* chroniclers, to be the rightful King or Queen is to be favoured by God, and the hand of providence that runs throughout the chronicle tradition does not have any special preference for Margaret but for all those of the West Saxon dynasty. Margaret appears, then, as an evocative symbol of the end of Anglo-Saxon rule: not the origin-point that she will become in later Scottish chronicles, but an end point.

Early English Chronicles in Latin

William of Malmesbury

We know very little of William of Malmesbury (*c.*1090, *d.* in or post-1142) from anything other than his own writing.[85] He was a monk at the Abbey of Malmesbury in the South-West of England and identified himself in his writings as having 'the blood of two races': English and Norman.[86] This suggests that his chronicle provides an alternative to the *ASC*'s very heavily West-Saxon perspective in its representations of the same period of history. Malmesbury appears

[84] Brooks, 'About Kings', p. 47.
[85] R.M. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury', *ODNB*, accessed 27.04.15.
[86] Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury', accessed 27.04.15.

to have been committed to recording historical fact and presenting history as a source of exemplars for kings. Throughout his writing he shows an anxiety about source material and an unusual concern with factual reliability, stating in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (henceforth *Gesta*) that 'nichil de retro actis preter coherentiam annorum pro uero pacisci; fides dictorum penes auctores erit'.[87] Malmesbury modelled his own historiographical processes after Bede and committed his whole life to the writing of history.[88] The *Gesta* was one of his three histories, alongside the *Historia Novella* (covering the years 1128 to 1142 and focusing mainly on the conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda) and the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* (the deeds of the English bishops).[89] It seems that he was writing the *Historia Novella* when he died in or just after 1142.

The *Gesta* covers the years 449 to 1120. It was not written all at once. It was originally written under the direction and patronage of Queen Matilda, and Malmesbury stopped writing it for a period after her death in 1118.[90] He was an assiduous self-editor and the four surviving versions of the *Gesta* in five manuscripts are all 'in some sense authorial', showing evidence of the revision process.[91] William of Malmesbury is identified as the author from Oxford Magdalen College, MS Lat. 172.[92]

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[87] 'I guarantee the truth of nothing in past time except the sequence of events; the credit of my narrative must rest with my authorities', *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum*, *The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. by R.A.B Mynors et al., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 16–17. All subsequent references are to this edition.

[88] Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury', accessed 27.04.15.

[89] The *Historia Novella* comprises an eyewitness account of the years 1126 to 1142 (the period sometimes known as 'The Anarchy') and the Empress Matilda's dispute for the throne with King Stephen. Broadly speaking, Malmesbury supports Matilda, although there are some elements of criticism in his account of her actions. The *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* is an ecclesiastical history of the deeds of the English bishops which stretches from St Augustine in the sixth century to William of Malmesbury's own time.

[90] Rodney Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p. 7.

[91] *Gesta*, p. xiii. There is some evidence that he made changes in the years 1135 to 1143 to reflect his changing views of history, but the sections concerning Margaret remained unchanged.

[92] N.R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1985), p. 61.

The *Gesta* survives today along with three accompanying letters. The first is to David I of Scotland, son of Malcolm and Margaret, to whom a copy of the *Gesta* was also sent; the second is to the Empress Matilda whose mother commissioned the work and to whom a copy was also sent; and the final letter is to the dedicatee, Earl Robert (*d.*1147).[93] Although the Gesta was completed *c.*1125, it continued to be revised roughly up until the succession crisis that followed the White Ship disaster and Henry I's death in 1135, and Malmesbury addresses his history of the Engish kings to those who might have the most influence in determining its outcome.[94] In these letters to rulers (and a potential ruler) he sets out what he hopes they will gain from the reading of history. He combines this with flattery in his letter to David I, suggesting that '[h]ic […] cognoscetis quam splendidis progenitoribus uos non indignus nepos'.[95] In fact, Malmesbury emphasises throughout his letter that it is in part the love of writing and history that makes David I's family so virtuous: '[e]st certe familiae uestrae gentilitium ut ametis litterarum studium'.[96] While Malmesbury only goes on to make direct reference to David's sister Matilda, who 'continuum, ut litteris assisteret, cultores earum proueheret', it would be impossible for anyone who was aware of Margaret's *Vita* and the extreme emphasis that Turgot puts on her literate piety, not to think of Margaret.[97] Whether it is the case that Malmesbury was more concerned with Matilda, who had been his patroness, or that Margaret's pious and virtuous literacy was such a commonplace as to not be mentioned, we cannot know, but it is striking that

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93 Robert, Earl of Gloucester, was the bastard son of Henry I. Probably the eldest of his sons, he was born before Henry I's accession in 1100. Robert was educated in letters and liberal arts at his father's instruction. He had a great deal of power and influence in England during his lifetime, and was influential during the 'Anarchy'. In the conflict between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, he switched his allegiance to Matilda in 1138, after it seemed that the King had attempted to have him assassinated. David Crouch, 'Robert First Earl of Gloucester', *ODNB*, accessed 31.08.16. These letters are only preserved in the manuscript Troyes, Bibliothéque Municipale, MS 294. Jean Blacker, *The Faces of Time: Portrayal of the Past in Old French and Latin Historical Narrative of the Anglo-Norman Regnum* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), p. 150.

94 Bjorn Weiler, 'William of Malmesbury on Kingship', *History*, 90 (2005), pp. 5–6.

95 '[h]ere you will learn how illustrious are the forebears whom you follow as their not unworthy grandson', pp. 4–5.

96 '[i]t is without doubt a characteristic of your family to love the study of letters', pp. 4–5.

97 'never ceased to support good literature and advance those who were devoted to it', pp. 4–5.

Margaret's bookish reputation seems already at this point to have become a family one. The letter to David I is dominated by reference to David's ancestors without ever mentioning one by name. Malmesbury praises his '[g]en[us] […] amplitudo' ('illustrious lineage') and calls him the 'uero solus […] heres' ('sole heir') to a great line of kings.[98] For Malmesbury this noble lineage is inextricable from the noble qualities that make David a good king – specifically his 'uultus benignitate' ('kindliness of mien') and his 'magnificentissimo et piissimo' ('most glorious and religious') rule.[99] Written against the backdrop of a troubled succession, royal blood and the rightful inheritance are at the forefront of Malmesbury's letters.

Malmesbury also displays a concern with the dissemination of his history among the British royalty. He writes to ask David I permission to send a copy of the history to his niece the Empress Matilda (1102–1167).[100] Malmesbury suggests that because David I's sister Matilda originally encouraged him to write the *Gesta*, then he might give his permission for his niece to receive a copy:

> Hinc est quod Anglorum Regum Gesta uestri regia auctoritate dominae nostrae imperatrici nepti uestrae destinare non timuimus, quae hortatu dominae nostrae sororis uestrae Mathildis reginae scribere fecimus[.][101]

He hopes through sharing the *Gesta* with the Empress Matilda to be able to pass on models of good leadership and good advice through the lessons of history. Indeed, William of Malmesbury hopes his history might offer a model of queenship to the Empress Matilda in the same manner that Turgot's *Vita* offered instruction to Matilda of Scotland.[102] Malmesbury even suggests to David that his sister would have wanted him to 'sua errata pro uirili portione corrigere sciret, pro

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[98] pp. 2–3.
[99] pp. 2–3.
[100] Marjorie Chibnall, 'Matilda [Matilda of England]', *ODNB*, accessed 24.08.16.
[101] 'This explains the confidence with which we seek your Majesty's authorization in offering to your niece our lady the Empress Matilda this *History of the English Kings*, the writing of which we arranged with the encouragement of our lady your sister Queen Matilda', pp. 2–3.
[102] See Chapter 2, passim.

regalia potentia posset, pro fraterno affectu uellet'.[103] What these 'errata' (mistakes) might be is not made explicit, although Matilda was criticised by Anselm for taxing the churches in her care too heavily.[104] As a Benedictine monk William of Malmesbury may well have deemed this to be a serious failing.

In the letter Malmesbury subsequently writes to the Empress Matilda his praise of her mother Matilda's literary patronage is less guarded and more specific: 'eius sanctissimus animus adeo litterarum negotiis operam dedisset'.[105] As in Turgot's *Vita*, literacy and sanctity are inextricable. Throughout, Malmesbury identifies attention to history and support of the literate arts with good kingship (and queenship). The importance of history rests as much in its reading as in its writing, as good rulers can learn from the past. Of Malmesbury, Weiler proposes that '[t]he writing of history was inevitably also the writing of a commentary on contemporary affairs'; accordingly, through his commentary, Malmesbury is able to promote models of good behaviour.[106] These, unsurprisingly, involve the writing and commissioning of histories. Matilda herself makes a remarkable model of queenship in the *Gesta* since she 'litteris quoque femineum pectus exercuit' ('exercised her intelligence, though a woman, in literature').[107] Like her mother in Turgot's biography, Matilda is marked out as especially literate. As such we might expect Margaret to merit more of a mention, since Turgot holds her up as an ideal literary queen in his *Vita*, but Margaret appears significantly only at her death.

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[103] 'Correct her mistakes to the best of his capacity with the power of a king to do so and the readiness of a loving brother', pp. 4–5.
[104] Lois L. Huneycutt, 'Matilda [Edith, Mold, Matilda of Scotland]', *ODNB*, accessed 01.08.15.
[105] 'her sainted mind had devoted so much attention to the business of literary studies', pp. 8–9.
[106] Weiler, 'Malmesbury on Kingship', p.5.
[107] pp. 754–5. In her lifetime, Matilda was indeed known as a patroness of books. As well as (ostensibly) commissioning Turgot's *Vita* and the earlier version of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Matilda was a conspicuous patroness of all of the arts at court. See Lois L. Huneycutt *Matilda of Scotland: a Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 125–43.

Ultimately, William of Malmesbury's representation of Margaret in his *Gesta* is shaped by his own stated purpose: the purpose that he has emphasised also in his letters to Margaret's son and granddaughter, that history ought to be used as a didactic tool to influence the behaviours of current rulers:

> Solebant sane huiusmodi libri regibus siue reginis antiquitus scribi, ut quasi ad uitae suae exemplum eis instruerentur aliorum prosequi triumphos, aliorum uitare miserias, aliorum imitari sapientiam, aliorum contempnere stultitiam.[108]

Margaret appears as the model of what William of Malmesbury believes a queen ought to be, though his representation of ideal queenship is far more restricted than Turgot's. Written after Turgot's *Vita* and ostensibly at the request of the same Matilda, the only passage of the *Gesta* that deals with Margaret in any detail focuses solely on her deeds of charity for the poor. Margaret's acts of charity are a minor detail in Turgot's *Vita* in comparison with her reform of the Scottish church and the miracle of her gospel-book. For Malmesbury, however, Margaret's charity is the single most important focus since it provides a pattern for how a good queen should behave:

> Cuius interitus accepto nuntio, uxor Margareta elemosinis et pudicitia insignis, fastidiens huius lucis moram, mortem precario exegit a Deo. Ambo cultu pietatis insignes, illa precipue. Namque toto uitae tempore uinginti quattuor pauperes habebat, ubicumque locorum erat, quos cibis et uestibus refitiebat. Ceterum in Quadragestima sacerdotum cantum preueniens noctibus in templo excubabat, triplicibus matutinis ipsa insistens de Trinitate, de Cruce, de sancta Maria; inde psalterium cum lacrimis uestem infundentibus, pectus succutientibus. Templo digrediens pascebat pauperes primo tres, mox nouem, inde uiginti quattour, postremo trecentos, ispa cum rege assistens et manibus aquam infundens.[109]

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[108] 'It is true that in the old days books of this kind were written for kings or queens in order to provide them with a sort of pattern for their own lives, from which they could learn to follow some men's successes, while avoiding the misfortunes of others, to imitate the wisdom of some and to look down on the foolishness of others', pp. 6–9.

[109] 'Hearing the news of his [Malcolm's] decease, his queen Margaret, famous for her generosity and holy life, lost her taste for the world; she prayed God for death, and won her wish. Both were famous for their devotion, especially the queen. All her life long, wherever she was, she kept twenty-four poor persons, whom she fed and clothed. In Lent, she would anticipate the chanting of her chaplains and keep nightly vigil in the church, herself attending triple matins, of the Trinity, of the Cross, and of the Blessed Virgin, and then reciting the Psalter, her dress wet with her tears, her bosom heaving. On leaving the chapel, she used to feed the poor: three at first, soon nine, then twenty-four, and finally three hundred; she was there to receive them with the king, and poured water on their hands', pp. 554–5. This detail – specifically twenty-four poor persons – appears to be derived from Turgot's *Vita*. The passage as a whole is similar

Margaret is a devoted wife, a pious woman, and a charitable queen. She is 'elemosinis et pudicitia insignis' ('famous for her generosity and holy life'), rather than for her legal and religious reform. Despite striking similarities to Turgot's *Vita*, in particular the twenty-four poor for whom she cared, Malmesbury's picture of Margaret serves to show that a good queen's only concern should be pious prayer and charity.[110] This also provides a striking contrast to the *ASC* Margaret who is a political actor, a distributor of wealth and of the utmost genealogical interest. Malmesbury's good queen has no political role to play; she is a paragon of charity, piety and (ultimately) obedience. Margaret does not steal coins to give to the poor, she does not persuade, and she certainly does not try to influence the laws of the land in the *Gesta*.

Malmesbury does, however, still draw attention to Margaret's family line, and the same language of destined rulership and royal blood that will be used later in Bower's *Scotichronicon* is applied in the twelfth century to Matilda, whom Malmesbury reminds us was 'illustri regum stirpe descendit' ('descended from an ancient and illustrious line of kings').[111] Likewise, a legitimating narrative runs through Malmesbury's relation of Matilda and Henry I's marriage. He insists that 'legitim[us] […] test[es]' ('lawful witnesses') were produced that attested that Matilda did not leave the life of a professed religious woman in order to marry Henry I.[112] This directly precedes a comparison with St Margaret: Matilda was 'maternae pietatis emula' ('in piety her mother's

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and suggests Turgot as a source; although the details of her prayers are slightly different from Turgot's account, the specific number of charitable recipients would seem to suggest that Malmesbury referred directly to Turgot's text.

[110] Turgot's *Vita*: 'istius numeri pauperes, id est viginti quatuor, quamdiu vixit, per totius anni circulum sustentaverat', p. 248 ('this same number of poor folk, that is twenty-four, she cared for for the whole of the year as long as she lived').

[111] pp. 754–5. For a full discussion of this in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, see Chapter 5.

[112] pp. 754–5.

rival').[113] We are then immediately given a description of Matilda's acts of piety, chosen to show that she exceeds Margaret in saintliness:

> Cilitio sub regio cultu conuoluta, nudipes diebus Quadragesimae terebat aecclesiarum limina, nec horrebat pedes lauare morbidorum, ulcera sanie distillantia contrectare, postremo longa manibus oscula protelare, mensam apponere.[114]

Here, Margaret is not a unique proto-saint to whom God grants miracles and especial favour; she is primarily the mother of a pious queen. Margaret is no more an exemplar for Matilda than Matilda herself would be in turn to her own daughter and other readers of the *Gesta*. So, the justification of Matilda's marriage is directly followed by a favourable comparison with Margaret and a demonstration of Matilda's sanctity; Malmesbury shows the improving process of reading history in action. The virtuous and literate Matilda reads about her mother and patterns her behaviour accordingly, becoming an ideal and legitimate queen. As Hollis notes, '[l]ike Queen Edith and Queen Emma before her, Matilda cultivated her public image by commissioning a eulogist to celebrate her most politically useful family connections'.[115] Though mention of Margaret is brief, she garners more attention and praise than Malcolm. Thus Margaret both provides a template for Matilda's good queenship, and emblematises Matilda's illustrious family background, thereby offering evidence of her daughter's well-suitedness to the role of English queen.

Thus, according to William of Malmesbury's morally edifying historical agenda, Margaret is portrayed throughout as one of Matilda's many virtuous ancestors and a pious and obedient queen. Both of these facets are politically expedient in times of succession crisis, leaving room

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[113] pp. 756–7.
[114] 'Under her royal robes she wore a shift of hair-cloth, and trod the church floors barefooted during Lent; nor did she shirk from washing the feet of the diseased or handling their foul discharging sores, after which she would kiss their hands at length, and set food before them', pp. 756–7.
[115] Stephanie Hollis, 'Wilton as a Centre of Learning', in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's 'Legend of Edith' and 'Liber Confortatorius'*, ed. by Stephanie Hollis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 307–38, (p. 333).

for more than one 'true heir' to the English throne and serving to suggest that political marriages are acts of duty, piety and obedience. Malmesbury's representation of Margaret feeding the poor is reminiscent of Turgot's hagiographical portrayal of her, but makes no explicit connection with saintliness or divine favour. Perhaps this is rather in keeping with his consistent scepticism, or perhaps it just serves to emphasise Margaret's exemplary role and Matilda's wholehearted taking-on and exceeding of such a model.[116] That Matilda's 'superb diplomatic talents' might have extended to patronising a text that represented her as exceeding her mother's reputation for piety seems likely.[117] So, Margaret exists somewhat in the background of the *Gesta*, but nonetheless her example can be felt throughout – in the emphasis on bloodline, in the promotion of literate activity, and in the concern with queenly piety.

Ælred of Rievaulx

Ælred of Rievaulx was a twelfth-century Cistercian monk and historian but his church career began only after he had served for ten years as a steward at the court of David I of Scotland. In 1134 he became a monk at the newly-founded Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire.[118] Here he wrote many historical and hagiographical works, including the *Genealogia Regum Anglorum* (1153–4) (henceforth *Genealogia*), a *Life* of Edward the Confessor (1161–3), a lament for David and a *vita* entitled *De Sancto Rege Scotorum David* (*c.* 1153), and a *Life* of St Ninian (1154–60). His work is equally concerned with Scotland and England.

It is in the *De Sancto Rege Scotorum David* – which would later become the first chapter of *Genealogia* – that Margaret appears most prominently as a fitting saintly ancestor to the equally saintly King David I. She appears in a single striking passage: Ælred's description of her Black

[116] William of Malmesbury expresses incredulity about several things, including the legend of King Arthur, Bede's trip to Rome and Queen Edith's virginity. For further discussion, see Grandsen, *Historical Writing*, p. 175.
[117] Theresa Earenfight, Q*ueenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2013), p. 133.
[118] Marsha L. Dutton, 'Ælred of Rievaulx', *ODNB*, accessed 11.05.15.

Rood, a richly decorated reliquary containing pieces of the true cross that had passed to David. This narrative appearance occurs at the moment of David's death, thereby forming a yet stronger link between mother and son. Their saintly deaths mirror one another and David appears as direct heir to Margaret's sanctity. Ælred relates the significance of the Black Rood at David's death thus:

> Hanc religiosa regina Margareta, hujus regis mater, quae de semine regio Anglorum et Hungariorum exstitit oriunda, allatam in Scotia quasi munus haereditarium transmisit ad filios. Hanc igitur crucem omni Scotorum genti non minus terribilem quam amabilem cum rex devotissime adorasset, cum multis lacrymis peccatorum confessione praemissa, exitum suum coelestium mysteriorum perceptione munivit.[119]

David's request for the Black Rood symbolically aligns him with his saintly mother and underscores his legitimacy and virtuous kingship. David's death mirrors Margaret's death as described in Turgot's *Vita*; it is thus impossible to miss the equivalence Ælred is here drawing between mother and son.[120] It explicitly makes David the heir to Margaret's sanctity and sovereignty and locates this at the Scottish court rather than with Matilda at the English court, where William of Malmesbury predominantly places it. It also compounds Ælred's formulation of David's ideal kingship in explicitly religious terms. Unusually, through possession of Margaret's Black Rood, David I is implicitly aligned with St Helena, and with models of ideal queenship.[121] For Ælred, Margaret is not just a spiritual model for David, but also a worldly

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[119] 'This most religious Queen Margaret, who was the mother of this king, who was herself born from the bloodline of the Kings of the English and of the Hungarians, had brought this [the Black Rood] with her into Scotland as an heirloom and passed it on to her sons. Then the king, after he did adoration to the cross with great devotion, this cross that was no less feared than it was loved by the Scottish people, and confessed his sins with many tears; he prepared himself for his death by taking the heavenly mysteries.' All references to this text are from the *Patrologia Latina* Database: Ælred of Rievalux, *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina 2, vol. 195, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris, 1855)**:** http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:pld&rft_dat=xri:pld:ft:all:Z100095120
[accessed 11/05/15]. Translations are my own.

[120] Margaret calls for her Black Rood, takes a final mass and makes a confession as she prepares herself for death. Turgot's *Vita*, pp. 251–2.

[121] St Helena was the mother of the Emperor Constantine, who was credited with finding the True Cross in Jerusalem. She was often held up as an ideal of queenship, and queens would obtain pieces of the True Cross in order to show their adherence to the model that St Helena describes. I have discussed this in my

model, providing the pattern for earthly rulers of either gender. Significantly, Margaret is the only model of pious sovereignty offered. Malcolm III, who is described in later Scottish accounts of Margaret's life such as the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* and Walter Bower's nationalist history the *Scotichronicon* as both a pious man and a model warrior-king, does not feature at all at the critical moment of his son's death.[122] This account of the Black Rood at David's death would later be incorporated verbatim into the *Scotichronicon*, but Bower identifies only Margaret as a saint. David appears as a good king and a strong ruler, but receives none of the special attention accorded to his mother; nor is he associated with miracles in support of the Scottish nation. Whether this is because Margaret's cult gained traction during the late twelfth and early eleventh centuries, culminating in her canonisation in 1250, and no cult of David I emerged in response to Ælred's attempt to present him as a saint in this work, or because Bower thought that Margaret made a more appropriate and useful figure of a national patron saint, is unclear. It nonetheless seems likely that an increasing devotion to Margaret was probably helped along by the political usefulness of her status as both Anglo-Saxon princess and Queen of Scots, making her a valuable and polyvalent icon for different causes in a way that David I was not.

Margaret again appears in a significant political role in the subsequent chapters of Ælred's *Genealogia*, a genealogy of the English kings. Ælred appears to have used Turgot's *Vita* as a source for this work and his deployment of Margaret and her lineage reflects the same concerns

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chapter on Turgot's *Vita*, and Jo-Ann MacNamara has written extensively on the significance of St Helena to ideal queenship: '*Imitatio Helenae*', pp. 51–80.

[122] Malcolm, however, appears more prominently in the *Genealogia* as an example of David I's noble heritage. At Chapter 22 of the *Genealogia* Ælred relates the story of Malcolm confronting and defeating a traitor alone and unarmed, a story later interpolated into Turgot's *Vita* and found in the version of Margaret's *Life* in the Dunfermline manuscript (Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097). It seems reasonable to believe that Ælred's account was the source for this, although I will deal with this more fully in my chapter on the Dunfermline manuscript, Chapter 4. This is discussed more fully by Alice Taylor, 'Historical Writing in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland: the Dunfermline Compilation', *Historical Research*, 83 (2010), pp. 228–252.

with the broken line of Anglo-Saxon kings.[123] Ælred couples this with a vision of the 'green tree' – an image which also appears in his *Vita S. Edwardi*, the Life of Edward the Confessor – as part of his strategy to present Margaret and her daughter Matilda as key to the restoration of the Anglo-Saxon royal line. In this vision, Edward sees a green tree that has been 'set apart from its own root', but when joined back together 'flowers again, and bears fruit'.[124] This dream is revealed to be a prophecy regarding the English royal line – the green tree is cut by Edward's lack of heirs and restored once more to flowering by the marriage of Matilda and Henry I. Clearly, for Ælred the one true royal family of England was the Anglo-Saxon royal line to which both St Margaret and his saint-like David belonged.

David I appears in the *Genealogia* out of chronological order: Ælred opens his work with David, rather than the earliest English king, privileging the king with whom he was closest in his lifetime while also seeming to suggest that Margaret and her sons are the central figures in the genealogy of English kings, despite being Scottish royalty. The '[r]eligiosus et pius rex David' ('the most religious and pious King David') is presented as heir to Margaret's sanctity and member of a family characterised by saintliness and virtue:

> Tu igitur, vir optime, filius es gloriosissimae imperatricis Mathildis, cujus fuit mater christianissima et excellentissima Anglorum regina, Mathildis filia sanctissimae feminae reginae Scotorum Margaretae, quae nominis sui splendori morum sanctitatem praeferebat.[125]

Here Ælred, just like William of Malmesbury, presents Margaret as the originator of the saintly bloodline that determines the virtuous sovereignty of David, Edith/Matilda and the Empress

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123 Taylor, 'Historical Writing', p. 242.

124 *Ælred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, ed. by Marsha L. Dutton, trans. by Jane Patricia Freeland (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005), pp. 205–6. All subsequent references are to this edition.

125 'Therefore you, the best of men, are brother to the most glorious Empress Matilda, whose mother was the most Christian and most excellent Queen of the English, Matilda, who was herself the daughter of that most saintly of women Margaret Queen of the Scots, who preferred all the deeds of holiness to the worldly splendour of her own name.' Ælred calls David I Empress Matilda's 'brother' (filius), but David I was actually her uncle. Ælred must have been aware of their actual relation to one another, so this is probably a scribal error.

Matilda. As in Turgot's *Vita*, Margaret mentally eschews the splendour of worldly things and focuses instead on the spiritual life.[126] It seems likely that it was at the court of David I that Ælred came across Turgot's *Vita* in some form, since it was written ostensibly for David's own sister Matilda. Ælred reports David telling him stories of his sister's saintly behaviour, and Ælred appears to have known the family well, if only through David's report.[127] This certainly indicates that Margaret's virtuous and ideal queenship was already coming to be closely linked to her (spiritual) disavowal of the worldly treasures she was nonetheless required to bring to the Scottish court. Turgot's *Vita* might also have formed a basis for Ælred's life of David I as he, like Turgot, sought to increase the position and prestige of the family for which he was writing.

Margaret is further mentioned in Chapter 20 of the *Genealogia* where Ælred recounts how Edward the Confessor invited her family back to England and welcomed them as part of his household. Then at Chapter 22 Ælred makes brief mention of the circumstances of Margaret's marriage, relating simply that conflict in England after the Norman Conquest necessitated that Edgar Ætheling and his sisters flee to Scotland, and that 'Margareta regis Malcolmi nuptiis traderetur' ('Margaret be given in marriage to King Malcolm'), a sentence phrased emphatically in the passive. No mention is made here of a romantic meeting, conflict with William the Conqueror, or the gift-giving that previous versions feature. For Ælred, David I is the dynastic centre of the *Genealogia*, not Margaret. Margaret might feature in his genealogies in various places but David is always the focus, as the representative of 'gen[us] su[us] splendor' ('the illustrious nature of his family'). Nonetheless, Margaret's importance throughout Ælred's works as a dynastic figure and a link between the Anglo-Saxon Cerdicing ruling house and the new Anglo-Norman dynasty pervades these very David-focused texts. It is through Margaret that David is

[126] See Chapter 2, p. 92.
[127] Richard Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), p. 57.

linked with the vision of the 'green tree' recounted by Edward the Confessor on his deathbed in Ælred's *Vita*.[128]

Thus, although Margaret herself receives little attention in Ælred's historical or hagiographical works, she is nonetheless central to the narrative of rightful and virtuous English (and Scottish) sovereignty that runs through Ælred's historical writings. Particularly significant is the passing of the Black Rood from Margaret to David, and the alignment of one saintly death with another. Ultimately, it was Margaret who was canonised and not David, and Margaret who came to be seen as the important genealogical figure, but here we can see how Ælred planned to use her in his attempt to position David I as potential heir to the English throne. Whether this was politically motivated, or based on past friendship while Ælred was at David I's court, once again we see Margaret mobilised as a symbol intended to glorify and legitimise the rule of her offspring and descendants. In the context of this early English chronicle tradition it is highly suggestive of Northern resistance to Anglo-Norman rule, centering on the dignity and ideal nature of the court of Malcolm and Margaret, and then David I. Ælred's histories, written in Yorkshire and circulating in both England and Scotland, serve to suggest that Anglo-Norman rule is only legitimised through Matilda's marriage to Henry I and imply an enduring loyalty to and preference for the Anglo-Saxon royal line as preserved in the descendants of St Margaret.

Eadmer

Eadmer (*c.* 1060–1126) was a cleric and close associate of Archbishop Anselm. He was Anselm's companion throughout his life, during which time he accompanied him into exile twice after the Archbishop's disputes with William II and Henry I. His *Historia Novorum in Anglia* (henceforth *Historia Novorum*) was written between 1066 and 1122 and deals largely with the public life of Archbishop Anselm. The *Historia Novorum* also has a counterpart in the *Vita S. Anselmi*, a far

[128] pp. 204–10.

more personal and hagiographical account of Anselm's life which Anselm himself initially approved before ultimately asking for it to be destroyed, which it was, except for Eadmer's own copy of his notes.[129]

As one might expect, the *Historia Novorum* is the more politically weighted of Eadmer's works. It promoted Canterbury rather than York as the primary see in England and provided a flattering portrait of Anselm. This is the only text of Eadmer's in which Margaret appears. Her appearance here is only brief; the political scene of Eadmer's history is dominated by her daughter Matilda and the controversy surrounding her marriage to Henry I.[130] However, Margaret's sole mention in the *Historia Novorum* comes at a crucial moment in the narrative when Eadmer is about to describe the circumstances of the marriage. He is anxious about the perceived legitimacy: 'quia per Anselmum administratum fuit, nam et eos in conjugium benedixit et illam pariter in reginam consecravit, brevi autumno describendum qualiter actum sit'.[131] Eadmer conspicuously chooses not to mention that Anselm was one of those who believed that Matilda had chosen a religious life and was at first strongly against the marriage.[132] Eadmer's stated purpose is to correct the record, 'quoniam Anselmum in hoc a rectitudine deviasse nonnulla pars hominum, ut ipsi audivimus, blasphemavit'.[133] Clearly, critical public opinion was pervasive enough that Eadmer felt it needed correcting in writing. Furthermore, he places this assertion of the legitimacy of Matilda and Henry I's marriage directly after he has outlined Matilda's ancestry, thereby

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129 J.C. Rubenstein, 'Eadmer', *ODNB*, accessed 01.05.15

130 In Chapter 2 on Turgot's *Vita* I discuss more fully the political implications both of this marriage and of its various textual representations, p. 101.

131 p. 121. '[A]s it [the marriage] was handled by Anselm, for he both married them with his blessing and also consecrated her as Queen, I think I ought briefly to describe how this came about'. Latin text, *Eadmeri historia novorum in Anglia et Opuscula Duo de Vita Sancti Anselmi et Quibusdam Miraculis Ejus*, ed. by Martin Rule (London: Longman, 1884). Translation, Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. and trans. by Geoffrey Bosanquet (London: Cresset Press, 1964), pp. 126–7. All subsequent references are to these editions.

132 Huneycutt, 'Matilda of Scotland', accessed 01.08.15.

133 p. 121. '[B]ecause quite a large number of people have maligned Anselm saying […] that in this matter he did not keep to the path of strict right', p. 127.

concurrently emphasising Matilda's genealogical suitability for the throne and the legitimacy of her queenship, which is further compounded by the way that Eadmer also presents her as a mediator between Henry I and Anselm as representative of the Church:

> Hinc paucis diebus interpositis Mathildis filia Malchomi nobilissimi regis Scottorum et Margaritae, quae scitur exorta de semine regum Anglorum, nupsit præfato Henrico regi Anglorum. Ipsa quippe Margarita filia fuit Edwardi filii regis Edmundi, qui fuit filius regis Æthelredi filii gloriosimmi regis Eadgari cujus mox in capite hujus operis mentio facta est.[134]

Through Margaret, Matilda is the last descendent of 'the old Kings of the English', shoring up Henry I's rule and her own suitability for the English throne. That Eadmer deliberately positions her marriage beside a dispute between Henry I and Anselm is further suggestive of her intercessory role. From Matilda's surviving letters, we know that she often mediated between her 'spiritual father' Anselm and her husband.[135] Though Margaret is mentioned only briefly here, Matilda's representation seems to echo that of her mother in Turgot's *Vita*. Where Margaret appears in her *Vita* as an intercessor on behalf of the Roman Church in Scotland, Matilda too appears as an intercessor on behalf of correct religious practice. The positioning of Matilda's marriage serves to suggest that the presence of such a queen would be of not just political but also spiritual benefit to the rule of Henry I.

Margaret's presence in the genealogy just before the account of the marriage furthermore serves as an implicit reminder of the circumstances of Margaret's own marriage – that Margaret devoted herself to God through her marriage, which came about through God's ordinance and was a

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[134] p. 121. 'A few days after this [Henry I's conflict with Anselm about bishoprics] Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, most noble King of the Scots and of Margaret, who is known to have been descended from the old Kings of the English, married this Henry, King of England. Now Margaret herself was a daughter of Edward, son of King Edmund, who was a son of King Ethelred [*sic*], son of that glorious King Edgar of whom mention was made at the very beginning of this work', p. 126.

[135] Matilda wrote many letters to Anselm over her lifetime, often asking for spiritual and political guidance on the role of the church. Matilda also wrote to Anselm during his periods of exile offering her help reconciling him and Henry I. For example, in Letter 320 Matilda writes: 'With God's help and my suggestions, as far as I am able, he [Henry] may become more welcoming and compromising towards you', *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. by Walter Fröhlich, vol. 3 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1994), p. 29.

form of spiritual service, expressed by Margaret's reforming queenship and her likeness to the biblical Esther.[136] Eadmer emphasises that it was 'jam olim dimisso velo, a rege amaretur' while also situating this event close to Matilda's genealogy.[137] The link with her mother Margaret is implicit rather than explicit, and far more emphasis falls on the wider scope of Matilda's genealogy and her more general genealogical well-suitedness to being queen. Nonetheless, that the sole mention of Margaret comes at this point serves to suggest that even in Eadmer's Anglocentric history written under Anglo-Norman rule, Margaret the Anglo-Saxon Queen of Scots held strong political cachet as mother-figure and exemplary queen.

Orderic Vitalis

Like William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis (1075–*c.*1142) was half-English, half-Norman, although he identified himself as 'Vitalis the Englishman'. He was a Benedictine monk at the Norman monastery of St Evroult, and it is from there that he wrote his major historical work, the *Ecclesiastical History*, over the period 1114 to 1141. What eventually became a large 13-volume work began as a history of St Evroult, a monastery in Normandy, from its refoundation *c.*1050, commissioned by Roger du Sap who was Abbot from 1091 to 1123. Orderic later developed it into a wider history which, he stated, aimed to provide an impartial view of events, mediating between English and Norman accounts of the Conquest and the years that followed.[138]

Orderic's chronicle is written retrospectively, and he often offers moral reflections on events that he describes.[139] For his source material, he seems not to have relied substantially on the *ASC*, but instead to have based much of his history on oral reports and perhaps even his own eyewitness

136 See Chapter 2, p. 92.
137 p. 121. '[L]ong after [Matilda] had discarded the veil [that] the King fell in love with her', p. 127.
138 J.O. Prestwich, 'Orderic Vitalis', *ODNB*, accessed 01.05.15.
139 *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969–1980), vol. 4, p. xx. All subsequent references are to this edition.

experience of events.[140] As with William of Malmesbury, the focus on Margaret is largely genealogical, and she is primarily represented as a conduit for the line of Anglo-Saxon kings. However, Orderic Vitalis also focuses on the precarious position of Margaret and her sons after Malcolm's death and the disputed line of Scottish succession, a detail previously ignored in the English chronicles in favour of simply showing that without Margaret the country fell into disorder.

Malcolm's possession of land and power is explicitly connected with his marriage to Margaret and furthermore, uniquely in these chronicles, the marriage is represented as having been arranged by Edward the Confessor rather than by providence or brought about through a combination of chance and Malcolm's opportunism. Orderic has Malcolm say '[f]ateor quod rex Eduardus dum michi Margaritam proneptem suam in coniugium tradidit Lodonensem comitatum michi donauit'.[141] Once again, Margaret has no agency and is handed over ('tradidit'), but in Orderic's history this is done by Edward the Confessor rather than by her brother who is a refugee in Malcolm's court and under duress. Here there is also an equation of possession of the woman (Margaret) with the land (Lothian): just as Margaret implicitly represents a claim to the English throne she explicitly enables a claim to Lothian as part of her dowry.[142] This representation of the marriage locates it within a wider political plan and suggests that it was always intended for Margaret and Malcolm to be married, and for this marriage to confirm Lothian as part of the Scottish nation. Keene deems this a likely possibility given Malcolm's time as a refugee in England and suggests that it is a more probable scenario than the version of events in the *ASC* and Turgot's *Vita*.[143] It was unusual for those fleeing failed rebellions to bring

[140] Chibnall, vol. 4, pp. xxi–xxii.
[141] 'I acknowledge that when King Edward gave me his great-niece Margaret in marriage he gave me the county of Lothian', vol. 4, pp. 270–1.
[142] Margaret is also equated with land in the Dunfermline *Miracula* and Bower's *Scotichronicon*. See Chapter 4, p. 199 and Chapter 5, p. 240.
[143] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 40.

their female relatives and it is possible that Edgar brought Margaret with him to Scotland with the express purpose of contracting a marriage between her and Malcolm.[144] That this marriage was also overseen and arranged by Edward the Confessor and carried with it the gift of Lothian county presents it both as an ordinary arranged royal marriage, contracted for mutual political gain, and suggests divine approval since it was arranged by so saintly a king as Edward the Confessor himself. It might furthermore reflect Orderic's assumptions about the customs of inheritance and dower in pre-Conquest Britain. He assumes that Margaret must have had dower-lands and rights to Lothian when in fact Margaret only represented a speculative claim to the English throne and there is no evidence that Edward the Confessor had set aside dower-lands for the marriage of his half-niece.[145] Unlike the version of events in Turgot's *Vita* and the *ASC*, there is no mention of what either Margaret or her family wanted, or thought, about the marriage. Orderic does not suggest that Margaret ever resisted the marriage or would have preferred to live a religious life. In many ways, this version of events presents a more prosaic and less romantic origin for the marriage. But it also suggests a world governed by politics and order rather than providence and chance. It strips away the sense of a destined union created by Turgot and the *ASC* and, by removing Margaret's reluctance to marry, brings her further from the hagiographical pattern of the unwilling wife.

Orderic's emphasis on political expediency is also evident in his description of Margaret's actions after Malcolm's death. She does not call her chaplain or confessor to her bedside or say a prayer and submit to a saintly death. Instead, she makes political assurances for her sons by extracting promises of loyalty from the nobles of her kingdom:

[144] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 46.
[145] Marjorie Chibnall, 'Women in Orderic Vitalis', *The Haskins Society Journal*, 2 (1990), 105–121, (p. 117).

> Margarita Scottorum regina tam tristi nuncio de morte uiri sui perculsa contremuit, omnesque regni sui proceres conuocauit, eisque filios suos Edgarum et Alexandrum et Dauid commendauit, ac ut eos sicut filios regis honorarent obsecrauit.[146]

Margaret, who is so commonly represented as caring for her children spiritually, here cares for them politically, by attempting to secure their succession from Malcolm in favour of his sons from his previous marriage.[147] It is only when Margaret has secured her sons' political position that her thoughts turn from the worldly to the spiritual. Margaret's charitable bequests come after her sons have been provided for:

> Susceptis autem precibus eius cum ingenti fauore a curia, iussit aggregari pauperum agmine. eisque pro amore Dei omnem thesaurum suum distribui, omnesque rogauit ut pro se maritoque suo proleque sua Dominum studerent deprecari.[148]

Orderic's account is the first representation we get of a politically savvy Margaret who is actively and knowingly engaged in the world of politics, rather than a politically useful Margaret who does not seem to have any active or conscious input herself. Orderic's Margaret is both virtuous saint and prudent queen, providing for her family before undertaking spiritual preparation for her own death. Her sons were in a politically precarious position after Malcolm's death, given that the Scottish line of succession had previously run brother-to-brother rather than father-to-son if the sons were considered too young to wield power.[149] Here Margaret is very much the saintly queen rather than the queen-saint.

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146 'Margaret, queen of Scotland, was wounded to the heart and shattered by the terrible news of her husband's death. She summoned all the nobles of her kingdom, commended her sons Edgar, Alexander, and David to them, and begged them to treat them with respect as the king's sons', vol. 4, pp. 270–1.

147 Malcolm had three sons, Duncan, Donald and perhaps Malcolm, with his first wife Ingeborg. Barrow, 'Malcolm III', accessed 27.07.15. In her *Miracula*, probably compiled through the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, Margaret also appears as a political protector, leading her sons into battle, which offers an analogue with St Helena, particularly as represented in Cynewulf's Old English poem *Elene*, which I discuss more fully in Chapter 4, p. 250.

148 'When her court had given full approval to all her requests, she asked for a great crowd of poor people to be brought together and all her treasure given to them for God's sake, and asked all to pray to the Lord for her and her husband and children', vol. 4, pp. 270–3.

149 Oram, *David I*, p. 40.

Likewise, Orderic also goes some way in providing politically for Margaret's descendants by contextualising this moment where Margaret exacts promises from her nobles within Margaret's own distinguished lineage. This pledging is immediately followed by a summary of Margaret's great and noble lineage on both sides:

> Hæc nimirum filia fuit Eduardi regis Hunorum, qui fuit filius Edmundi cognomento Irneside fratris Eduardi regis Anglorum, et exul coniugem accepit cum regno filiam Salomonis regis Hunorum. Generosa quippe mulier de sanguine regum a proauis orta pollebat, sed morum bonitate uitæque sanctitate magis precluebat.[150]

Mention of Margaret's saintliness thus comes at the end of an unequivocal statement of her political importance. Her saintliness supports her political power rather than making her appear further removed from the temporal world. Margaret manages to combine secular and spiritual power in perfect balance in Orderic's account, even in her death:

> Denique competenter ordinatis rebus et gazis distributis pauperum cœtibus. æcclesiam intrauit, missam a capellanis celebrari rogauit. Sacris deinceps deuote solenniis interfuit, et post sacræ perceptionem Eucharistiæ inter uerba orationis, exspirauit.[151]

It is only after Margaret has made sure that the kingdom she is leaving behind will be secure that she ensures her personal salvation. Far from the *ASC*'s representation of disorder after Margaret's death, Orderic presents a vision of threatening disorder which Margaret's strong queenship is able to prevent. That this was not the case makes Orderic's representation of a cohesive kingdom secured by promised succession and strong queenship all the more significant.[152]

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[150] 'This lady was a daughter of Edward, king of the Magyars, who was the son of King Edward the Confessor's brother Edmund Ironside, and when in exile had married the daughter of Solomon king of the Magyars, receiving the kingdom with her. This noble lady, descended from a long line of kings, was eminent for her high birth, but even more renowned for her virtue and holy life', vol. 4, pp. 272–3.

[151] '[W]hen she had made provision for the kingdom and distributed her wealth to the throngs of beggars, she entered a church and asked the chaplains to celebrate Mass. She took part most devoutly in the celebration, and after receiving the holy Eucharist died with a prayer on her lips', vol. 4, pp. 272–3.

[152] In fact, in his biography of David I, Richard Oram suggests that Margaret might have taken an active and decisive role in securing her sons' place in the line of Scottish succession had she not been in such ill health when Malcolm died. Complicating matters further was the fact that their eldest son, Edward, who had been publicly acknowledged as Malcolm's heir, had died from wounds sustained in the battle that had killed Malcolm. Their eldest surviving son Edmund was only about twenty years old, and with Malcolm

Orderic praises and commemorates many of Margaret's spiritual works, but always contextualises them within the political. When he commends her founding of a monastic cell at Iona as an act of piety, for instance, even this is placed within the context of the line of Scottish kings: '[h]uense cenobium quod seruus Christi Columba tempore Brudei regis Pictorum filii Meilocon construxerat'.[153] This need for political cohesion extends to his representation of Margaret's daughter Matilda. Although he states that Margaret '[d]uas filias Edit et Mariam Christianæ sorori suæ quæ Rumesiensis abbatiæ sanctimonalis erat. educandas sacrisque litteris imbuendas miserat', he makes no mention of Edith/Matilda's contested status as a nun and indeed seems to suggest the opposite – that she was at Romsey for her education and never took nun's vows, thereby strengthening this sense of political order by removing any mention of the troubled context of Matilda's marriage to Henry I.[154]

Orderic's representation of Margaret is striking for the fact that it offers this image of her as politically active rather than simply politically useful. It is Margaret who acts to attempt to secure political stability for her kingdom after Malcolm III's death, and it is Margaret who extracts promises from the nobles for her sons. If we consider the exemplary role of twelfth-century histories, Orderic's Margaret presents a strikingly different example from that of Turgot's *Vita* and Ælred's *Genealogia*. She is politically active, then spiritually concerned, rather than spiritually focused and only intervening in Church affairs. Representation of Margaret is, in fact, fairly

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and Margaret dead, Malcolm's brother Donald assumed the kingship. This precipitated a long struggle for the Scottish throne, during which Malcolm and Margaret's sons sought refuge at the court of William Rufus. This only ended in 1107, almost fifteen years after Margaret's death, after the death of Donald Ban. During this contest for the throne, Malcolm and Margaret's son Edmund had changed allegiance and instead supported his uncle's claim. Oram, *David I*, pp. 39–48. This is hardly the picture of family unity and unequivocal allegiance which Orderic paints.

[153] 'the cell of Iona, which the servant of Christ, Columba, had founded in the time of Bruide son of Malcolm, king of the Picts', vol. 4, pp. 272–3.

[154] 'sent her two daughters, Edith and Mary, to her sister Christina, who was a nun in Romsey abbey, to be brought up and taught sound doctrine', vol. 4, pp. 272–3.

typical of the way that Orderic represents women whom he considers to have been effective queens. Matilda the wife of William the Conqueror and Matilda of Scotland, among others, earn Orderic's praise for their time as regent during their husbands' absences and their involvement in the realm's political affairs.[155] Although influenced by some biblical and clerical stereotypes, Orderic consistently represents queens as politically useful to their husbands, and not as perfectly virtuous nor as wicked influences.[156] As in the *ASC*, Margaret appears as politically powerful, but unlike the *ASC*, this power is independent of Malcolm and exercised after his death. That the example that Orderic provides in the wake of Malcolm's death is of a powerful woman working to hold the kingdom together is certainly suggestive in light of the context: the mid-twelfth-century 'Anarchy' in the wake of Henry I's death. Margaret's strong queenship offers a model that suggests a queen might and indeed could act independently of male authority and take royal power into her own hands.

St Margaret and Goscelin's *Vita* of St Laurence

There is one further eleventh-century account of St Margaret – the Laurencekirk foundation-legend in Goscelin's *Vita* of St Laurence. While this is not part of a chronicle, I have chosen to consider it here since, like the *ASC*, it is possible that it was written in Margaret's lifetime and, as in the other chronicles, Margaret appears not as a saint, but as a pious queen.

The Laurencekirk foundation legend forms part of Goscelin's *Vita* of St Laurence and survives in two manuscripts, both of which were probably produced at Canterbury during the twelfth century and which are now in the British Library as MSS Cotton Vespasian B. xx, ff. 197r–203r,

[155] Chibnall, 'Women in Orderic Vitalis', p. 112.
[156] Chibnall, 'Women in Orderic Vitalis', p. 111.

and Harley 105, ff. 227v–233v.[157] Cotton Vespasian B. xx was produced between 1100 and 1130 and bears the inscription 'Liber Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis' on the recto of the first folio.[158] It contains a life of Augustine, the miracles of Augustine, a sermon for Augustine's feast-day and a translation of Augustine, as well as the lives of Mildred, Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, Honorious, Deusdit, Theodore and Adrian. These are followed by some material on Gregory the Great, a forged royal charter and papal bull in favour of St Augustine's at Canterbury, and an additional miracle of St Augustine's.[159] MS Harley 105 was also produced at Canterbury, but slightly later, between the years of 1140 and 1160.[160] Harley 105 is largely concerned with Canterbury saints. It also contains material on Augustine and Gregory the Great, and the same saints that appear in the Vespasian MS. Here Laurence appears between Theodore and Mellitus. Both manuscripts were likely produced at St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, explaining their consistent focus on Augustine and the saints of Canterbury.[161] What significance a story about St Margaret of Scotland might bear in such a context is unclear, but Margaret's role in Laurence's *Vita* both reflects and elucidates the wider concerns of the text, particularly concerning the balance of power between clergy and crown.

St Laurence was a Roman monk who had accompanied St Augustine of Canterbury on his mission to the English in 596. His missionary work in Essex and Kent was recorded by Bede.[162] St Laurence was the successor to Augustine of Canterbury as Archbishop, and held the position

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157 Wynzen de Vries, 'Goscelin of St Bertin's *Vita Sancti Laurentii Cantuariensis* (*BHL* 4741) edited from the manuscripts Cotton Vespasian B.xx and Harley 105' (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Gronigen, 1990), p. 28. All subsequent references are to this edition.
158 De Vries, 'Vita Sancti Laurentii', p. 29.
159 De Vries, 'Vita Sancti Laurentii', p. 30. Goscelin also wrote a *vita* of St Augustine of Canterbury, so it is unsurprising to see material on Augustine here. For discussion of this *vita* of Augustine, see Patrizia Lendinara, 'Forgotten Missionaries: St Augustine of Canterbury in Anglo-Saxon and Post-Conquest England', in *Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: Adopting and Adapting Saints' Lives into Old English Prose (c. 950–1150)*, ed. by Loredana Lazzari, Patrizia Lendinara and Claudia Di Sciacca (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 365–497, (pp. 480–2).
160 De Vries, 'Vita Sancti Laurentii', p. 31.
161 De Vries, 'Vita Sancti Laurentii', p. 32.
162 N.P. Brooks, 'St Laurence', *ODNB*, accessed 30.05.16.

until he died in 619.[163] That this text was produced at and centred on Canterbury is, therefore, unsurprising. The Margaret-episode is more remarkable in comparison, since Laurencekirk is located in Aberdeenshire, far from the centre of production and most of the events of St Laurence's *Vita*.

The Margaret episode tells the story of how Margaret ignored the rule that women were not permitted to enter St Laurence's church – Laurencekirk – and insisted on entering the church regardless. As soon as she entered, she was struck down and almost killed by great pains that could only be cured by the clerics of the church. Margaret's appearance in Goscelin's *Vita* of St Laurence most explicitly expresses the limits placed on Margaret's power by her gender as she tries to enter a church that is for men only, but also serves to emphasise the primacy of Church over Crown and potentially also of the Scottish Church of St Columba over Margaret's favoured Roman Church. Goscelin writes that the section concerning Margaret, along with several miracles of St Laurence, is taken from an older *Vita* of Laurence which does not survive today.[164]

Throughout his *Vita*, St Laurence is concerned with many of the same things that Margaret herself is in Turgot's *Vita*; in particular, the reform of the Scottish church. Goscelin remarks that:

> beatus LAVRENTIVS in præfata ipsorum patria quomodo et britonum in ipsa brittannia uitam ac professionem minus æcclesiasticam in multis esse cognouit. maxime quod paschæ solennitatem non suo tempore celebrarent; sed a quarta

[163] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 75–6.

[164] 'CVM igitur admirabilis agiographus GREGORIVS apostolorum uitam et apostolica signa tam AVGVSTINO quam eius sociis ascribat; audiamus de beato LAVRENTIO aliqua non inficienda miracula. quæ eruditissimi et religiosi uiri nobis memoriter de lecta eius excerpsere uita' ('Seeing that the celebrated hagiographer Gregory claims apostolic features and an apostolic life not only for Augustine but also for his companions, let us now hear some indubitable miracles involving the blessed Laurence, collected for us from memory by very learned and pious men who have read his Life'), p. 43.

> decima luna usque ad uigesimam dominicæ resurrectionis diem obseruandum esse putarent[165]

St Laurence prioritises orthodoxy and specifically the correct celebration of Easter, just as Margaret does in her *Vita*.[166] The *Vita* of Laurence dramatises the message that worldly rulers need to recognise and obey the authority of the Church and churchmen. This message is evident in the story of King Eadbald, who is redeemed from his idol-worshipping, stepmother-marrying ways when St Laurence reveals to him the power of God.[167] Laurence converts all of Kent, promotes Christian law, and ensures orthodox religious practice. King Eadbald is made to understand Laurence's divine authority and that he can only be a good ruler once he obeys the words of the churchmen advising him.

The St Margaret episode in the *Vita* of St Laurence comes after this episode, in which the importance of royal adherence to episcopal advice is emphasised, and directly follows a series of miracles performed by St Laurence.[168] In this episode Margaret, although virtuous and motivated by piety, succumbs to royal arrogance and insists on entering a church that it is only permitted for men to enter:

> In præfata aurem uilla Forduna. ædesiam in honore ipsius beati LAVRENTII post eius ad cælos triumphum incolæ amantes condidere. quæ inter cætera uirtutum pignora tanto candet priuilegio sanctimoniæ; ut nulla unquam feminarum hac possit intrare. At regum anglorum proles decentissima ac deo amabilis regina scothiæ

[165] '[T]he blessed Laurence perceived that the life-style and profession both in the aforesaid country of these people in that of the Britons in Britain itself were in many particulars hardly orthodox (and especially that they did not celebrate the feast of Easter at its proper time, holding that the correct observance was from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon of the Lord's resurrection', p. 39.
[166] For Margaret's Church reforms see Chapter 2, p. 95.
[167] King Eadbald both denies the Christian church and marries his father's wife when he comes to the throne. During his reign he allows his subjects to worship idols. The Bishops Mellitus and Justus come to Kent, the kingdom ruled by Eadbald, with the intention of converting him, but it is clear to them he is a lost cause. Laurence considers leaving for Gaul with them, but spends a night in the church of the Apostles Peter and Paul. In a dream, St Peter appears and scourges him all night long. In the morning, Laurence goes to the King and shows him the marks of St Peter's scourging. Upon seeing these, Eadbald abjures his unlawful marriage and his idol-worship, converts to Christianity and takes his kingdom with him (pp. 41–3). This episode is also recounted by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 80–1.
[168] St Laurence walks over water (p. 44); St Laurence brings a young boy back to life (p. 45).

> Margarita. pia religione cum cereis aliisque dacris oblationibus cæpit huc uelle intrare. Cui ad portam atrii occurentes canonici; orant instanter ne transgrediatur legem sacrosancti instituti. ne incurrat offensam ibi presidentis patroni. At illa respondens se potius sacrum locum honorare et exaltare uelle; urget propositum. Vix itaque atrium attigerat; cum subito diris totius corporis stimulata cruciatibus. proclamat comitibus. Cito inquit me hinc auferte; iam exanimor. Quæ raptim elata foras; implorat ipsos clericos sibi interuentores. quos se accusat non audisse monitores. His itaque pro ea psalmocinantibus regina salutem receptat. ipsos festiuis conuiuiis gratificat; æcclesiam illam cruce argentea prægrandi et calice præcipuo aliisque regalibus donis exornat. expertumque uerum et pium patrem LAVRENTIVM iugi ueneratione sibi aduocat. quem adire corpore nequibat.[169]

The representation of Margaret in this episode is complex; she is a devout queen, but not a saint on equal footing with Laurence. Goscelin heavily emphasises Margaret's secular and dynastic role, describing her as 'regum anglorum proles' ('descendant of English kings') and 'regina scothiæ' ('Queen […] of Scotland'). Although she is 'deo amabilis' ('pleasing to God'), Margaret is nonetheless clearly aligned with the worldly rulers to whom Laurence consistently provides guidance and corrective, rather than the one of the saints and clerics that provide that guidance. All of Margaret's 'pia religione' ('devout piety') does not counteract her worldly status as queen and her inferior position as woman. Laurence's church 'tanto candet priuilegio sanctimoniæ; ut nulla umquam, feminarum hanc possit intrare'.[170] Margaret's explicitly inferior position as a woman might be easily dismissed as part of the enduring trend for clerical antifeminism were it not for the fact that Goscelin wrote a series of female saints' lives, including those of St Edith of

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169 'After the blessed Laurence's triumphal journey to heaven the affectionate inhabitants of Fordoun, the village already mentioned, built a church in his honour, which, among other miraculous signs, shines with such great privilege of holiness that no woman is ever allowed to enter it. Yet Queen Margaret of Scotland, the descendant of English kings, a very virtuous woman and pleasing to God, once, prompted by a devout piety, wanted to enter this church with candles and other holy offerings. The canons met her at the precinct gate, urgently entreating her not to break the law of that sacred institution, so that she would not earn the displeasure of the patron saint watching over it. But she answered, saying that she wanted rather to honour and glorify a sacred place. Hardly had she entered the precinct, therefore, when, suddenly taken with frightful torments all over her body, she cried out to her companions. "Quick, she cried, "carry me out of here, I am being killed." When she had hastily been carried outside, she begged the clerks now to intercede for her, reproaching herself that she had not listened to them when they were warning her. When they started chanting prayers for her the queen regained her health; she thanked them by treating them to a festive banquet, provided the church with a huge silver cross, a special chalice, and other royal gifts, and expressed her veneration for Father Laurence, of whose reality and holiness she had had evidence, by constantly calling on him whom she could not approach in the body', p. 46.

170 'shines with such great privilege of holiness that no woman is ever allowed to enter it'.

Wilton and St Wulfsige. He was a chaplain of Wilton Abbey, where Matilda and probably also Margaret were educated, and wrote his *Liber Confortatius* for a beloved pupil named Eve who had chosen to pursue a life of seclusion.[171] As chaplain in Wilton, Goscelin would have lived under the authority of the Abbess there, and his writings bear out a deep affection for the pious and educated women that surrounded him.[172] This representation of Margaret, then, does not seem typical of Goscelin's attitude towards women.

That is not to say, however, that Margaret's gender is not the main obstacle to her entry to St Laurence's church. Not only is this explicit in the church's special sanctity, but the punishment for entry is an attack to Margaret's body, potentially underscoring the fact that it is her physical form impeding her and therefore the inferior nature of the female body. Margaret is 'diris totius corporis stimulata cruciatibus' ('suddenly taken with frightful torments all over her body'). Wynzen de Vries translates this as 'frightful torments all over her body', but the term 'cruciatibus' makes a connection between Margaret's suffering and Christ's suffering on the cross, simultaneously linking the pious queen with Christ at the same time as it dramatises and underscores the inferiority of the female form.[173] Margaret is at once likened to Christ and distanced from sainthood and closeness with God, since her female body holds her back from physical closeness to the bodily remains of St Laurence.

Like King Eadbald, who cannot mend his sinful ways and heal his kingdom until he has submitted himself to clerical advice, Margaret's body cannot be healed until she commits herself to the care of the clerics of the church of St Laurence. It is the clerics' chanting of 'psalm[i]'

171 Frank Barlow, 'Goscelin', *ODNB*, accessed 23.11.15.
172 For further discussion of Wilton Abbey, see Chapter 1, p. 44.
173 In the later Middle Ages, Christ's body on the cross was often 'feminised', but there is little evidence of this in the period in which the Laurencekirk foundation-legend was written. For discussion of Christ's feminised body on the cross, see: Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), pp. 79–118; Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993).

('psalms') specifically that cures Margaret of her seemingly deadly affliction – striking in itself since Margaret herself was reported to be an avid reader and reciter of the psalms.[174] Likewise, the mode with which she expresses her affection – provision of patronage, and in particular the gift of a huge silver cross – reflects the reported virtues of her own life, in which she was the patroness of Dunfermline Abbey, the St Andrews Queensferry and a foundation at Iona, and during which she owned the Black Rood. This episode underscores the essential nature of royal patronage – Margaret shows herself to be a good queen by giving 'regal[ia] don[a]' ('royal gifts') to the church after she is healed – and royal obedience to Church authority, since even a pious queen beloved of God like Margaret must still accede to the orders of church clerics.

Macquarrie links this anecdote directly to Margaret's reputation as a Church reformer, arguing that 'the traditional view of her as an intolerant and assertive colonial improver (as Thurgot [*sic*], perhaps rather unconvincingly portrays her) may stand in need of modification'.[175] But this story seems to engage little with issues of Scottish Church reform. Macquarrie has also suggested that the Laurencekirk story reflects 'Celtic' resistance to Margaret's aggressive, Catholicising reforms in Scotland by dramatising the power of a saint in a yet-to-be Catholicised area of Scotland over its reforming Queen.[176] He further emphasises the 'reliability' of this story, given that it was written either while Margaret was still alive or shortly after her death. However, I would hesitate to attribute 'truth' to any story with this level of supernatural involvement. It would be more beneficial to treat this as early evidence of Margaret's reception in literary form rather than a true-to-life anecdote from her time as Queen; though it is a contemporary or near-contemporary account, it nonetheless still most likely relates a 'hagiographical truth' rather than a historical

[174] 'His itaque pro ea psalmocinantibus regina salute receptat' ('When they started chanting prayers for her the queen regained her health'). For further discussion of this, see Chapter 1, p. 56.
[175] Alan Macquarrie, 'An Eleventh-Century Account of the Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's Pilgrimage there', *Innes Review*, 47:2 (1996), 95–109, (p. 102).
[176] See Alan Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History: AD 450–1093* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), pp. 221–2.

fact.[177] Macquarrie also relies on the assumption that Goscelin's lost source was Scottish, and if it was, that this source had sufficient popularity and circulation to reach a churchman who spent his career in Southern England and Northern Europe. No mention is made in the *Vita* of the nature or affiliation of Laurencekirk; instead the emphasis falls on the male/female and Church/Crown divide, both of which Margaret oversteps, and for both of which she is punished. As we might expect from a book produced at St Augustine's Abbey, the Laurencekirk *Vita* as a whole emphasises the importance of royal adherence to ecclesiastical advice, and Margaret in particular forms an especially potent and attractive example.

The Laurencekirk foundation legend shows that a queen who was known for her piety and affection for the Church in her own lifetime would still have to obey the laws of the Church and ask ordinary clerics for help, serving to underline all the more absolutely the relative place of Church and Crown. Not even a queen who would become a saint can disobey the rules of the Church. While it seems strange for Goscelin to be reinforcing a rigid gender hierarchy, the use of a lost source accounts for this. Ultimately, though, I would suggest that it is royal capitulation to ecclesiastical advice that is the central issue here, as the Laurencekirk foundation legend inverts Turgot's image of Margaret educating Scottish churchmen in matters of religion, returning primacy and authority to the Church, and functioning as a kind of advice-to-princes text. As in the early English chronicle tradition, Margaret is a model for rulers. However, in the early English chronicles, both Latin and vernacular, she is an ideal ruler, beyond reproach. In the Laurencekirk foundation legend Margaret is a ruler whose royal arrogance must be mended, and the solution is modelled for the reader: immediate and complete capitulation to ecclesiastical authority. No amount of piety, royal blood or good rulership can make Margaret, as both woman and monarch, above the law of the Church, and as such she serves as a warning to all royal rulers who might dare to do the same.

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[177] For a theoretical discussion of hagiography and 'truth' see Introduction, p. 17 and Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 4.

Conclusion

Throughout the early English chronicle tradition and in the eleventh-century Laurencekirk foundation-legend we see Queen Margaret rather than Saint Margaret. In fact, for Ælred of Rievaulx it is Margaret's son David who is the more blessed and, in Goscelin's Laurencekirk legend, Margaret is a pious but ordinary queen who must bend to the instruction of the Church. Margaret is a virtuous example but not a worker of miracles, nor any more specially chosen by God than any other rightful monarch.

In the *ASC*, Margaret's exemplary qualities are also conspicuously secular: she is notable as a distributor of wealth and a mother of many children. Turgot's *Vita* appears to have been used in many of the chronicle representations of Margaret, but aside from William of Malmesbury's reference to Margaret as a model for Matilda's virtuous behaviour – which he makes sure to note exceeds that of her mother – the weighting is again distinctly political. Margaret is, furthermore, Anglo-Hungarian, and although called the Queen of Scots is never represented as Scottish or as protecting Scottish interests, as is the case in the Older Scots chronicle tradition. In the *ASC* Margaret appears with all of the trappings of an ideal Anglo-Saxon king ruler alongside Malcolm. Malcolm and Margaret give out advice and treasure, and when she marries and when she dies the account of her life-events is accorded the same special prominence that otherwise attaches to kings.

To describe Margaret as 'simply a womb for the house of Wessex' is to ignore her complex political significance in the *ASC* as a queen who acts as an intriguing site of resistance to Norman rule, who – rather than solely a mother and an origin-point – marks the end of a great line of Cerdicing kings, and after whom there is only chaos and disorder. For Orderic, this political importance extends further and Margaret is most significant as a politically active queen,

ensuring the succession of her sons. Her spiritual virtue is only a reflection of her good queenship. Her importance is in the temporal sphere and, uniquely and strikingly, she appears as a significant and independent actor on the eleventh-century political stage.

These chronicles were written while Margaret's posthumous public identity was still being shaped, and in the politically unstable post-Conquest years Margaret's queenship was deemed more important than her sanctity, and her Englishness more useful than her Scottishness. This would shift in the political climate of the fourteenth century after the Scottish Wars of Independence as Scottish historians from Fordun (*c.*1363) onwards adopted Margaret as an emblem of divinely-sanctioned Scottish sovereignty. Nevertheless, we might perhaps wonder if Margaret was such an enticing symbol of legitimisation because of the way she was used as such in the post-Conquest histories of late-eleventh and twelfth-century England.

The beginning of Margaret's transformation from Anglo-Saxon princess to Scottish queen begins in her representation in the Dunfermline manuscript, Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097, which contains an interpolated version of Turgot's *Vita*, Margaret's *Miracula* and, among other devotional texts, a regnal list of Scottish kings up to James III. This collection of texts cumulatively identifies Margaret by her Dunfermline location as Scottish rather than by her bloodline as English, and the political weighting and usefulness shifts again, enabling Margaret to be taken on as a symbol of Scottish rather than Anglo-Saxon sovereignty in the later Scottish chronicles.

Chapter 4: St Margaret in the Dunfermline Manuscript

The Dunfermline manuscript, now Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097, is a fifteenth-century compilation of hagiographical, devotional and historical material compiled at Dunfermline Abbey. On the first page it bears the title 'Est margarite de dunfermlyne liber iste' ('This is the book of Margaret of Dunfermline'). It contains the 'Dunfermline' version of Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula*, but these texts take up only about a third of the manuscript. The remainder contains a mixture of historical and devotional material. To date, there has been no consideration of the representation of Margaret in her *Miracula* or Dunfermline *Vita* that takes into account the manuscript as a whole. In his new edition of the *Miracula*, Robert Bartlett has provided a response to aspects of Margaret's miracle collection, and Catherine Keene has recently edited and discussed the *Vita* contained in the Dunfermline manuscript as part of her 2013 monograph.[1] Alice Taylor has also considered the compilation and composition of the material in the first third of the manuscript – the *Vita*, the *Miracula* and the historical miscellany – as a hypothetical thirteenth-century compilation. However, no study of any of these texts has considered them within the context of the full fifteenth-century Dunfermline manuscript compilation, as I will do in this chapter, nor is there an edition of any of the other material. In this chapter, therefore, I provide my own transcriptions and translations of this heretofore unexamined material, based on my examination of the manuscript.

This chapter will offer the first reading of St Margaret within the full context of the Dunfermline manuscript, examining Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula* alongside the text with which they were

[1] *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, ed. and trans. by Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. 69–145; Catherine Keene, the 'Dunfermline' *Vita*, in *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 135–221. All subsequent references are to these editions.

being compiled and read from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. This original reading of a 'Dunfermline' Margaret will chart an evolutionary process in her representation as I take into account her thirteenth-century significance and this fifteenth-century manuscript. First, I provide a summary of the manuscript, its contents and history, and the debates surrounding the date of exemplars for the different texts. Next I offer a short history of the Abbey of Dunfermline, founded by Margaret herself, before moving on to a consideration of the Dunfermline *Vita* (as distinct from the 'Cotton' *Vita* discussed in detail in Chapter 2), the Dunfermline *Miracula* and the intervening historical material. I then proceed to examine the remaining two thirds of the manuscript, which contain a collection of devotional texts and the *Vita* of another Scottish saint, St Waldef of Melrose.

By attending to the Dunfermline manuscript as a 'whole book' I aim to show that Margaret's multivalent significance as English princess, Queen of Scots, national and religious patroness, saint, healer, and spiritual and political advisor was well established by the thirteenth century and developed further over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[2] The Dunfermline manuscript represents no accidental cobbling-together of tangentially related material, but a carefully planned and executed collection of texts that develop Margaret's multiple significances to provide both political support for the line of Scottish kings descended from Margaret and spiritual support for the monks of Dunfermline. In the same way that Margaret did in her lifetime, as Queen of Scots and founder and patroness of Dunfermline Abbey, so this manuscript – the 'Book of Margaret of Dunfermline' – provides both spiritual and dynastic support to the monks at Dunfermline and the Scottish Kings descended from Margaret's line

[2] Derek Pearsall defines the 'whole book' approach to manuscript studies as 'the idea […] that late medieval English manuscripts of apparently miscellaneous content are somehow the product of unifying controlling intelligences working so subtly that their strategies have hitherto escaped notice'. This, of course, also holds true of Scottish manuscripts, and this Scottish manuscript in particular, as I will demonstrate in this chapter. 'The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscript Miscellanies and their Modern Interpreters', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. by S. Kelly and J.J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 17–29, (p. 17).

and buried in the royal mausoleum there. In its fifteenth-century form, this manuscript has both a devotional function – representing and promoting Margaret the saint – and a political function, representing and promoting an unbroken line of Scottish kings up to James III, originating in its current form with Margaret and Malcolm, but also stretching back into the ancient, mythic past.

Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097

Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097 is a fifteenth-century compilation of individually-authored religious and historical texts written in Latin. This manuscript was copied and compiled at the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline during the reign of James III (1460–1488) and is now part of the collection in Spain's royal library.[3] An incomplete king-list on fol. 25v leaves the length of James' reign blank, which indicates that the manuscript was copied before his death and gives a *terminus ante quem* of 1488.[4] There was a thirteenth-century compilation of 'Margaret'-texts – most likely the *Vita*, *Miracula* and historical miscellany – that bore the same name and was recorded in the *Registrum de Dunfermlyn*, which I will discuss briefly, but in this chapter I will focus on the final stage of compilation: the fifteenth-century copying at Dunfermline Abbey.[5]

The manuscript itself is of small to medium size and relatively modest. It measures 240mm x 160mm and seems to be complete at 112 folios. It is written in an attractive and professional-looking gothic textura script throughout and, except for some notes on the end flyleaves, is

[3] How this manuscript found its way to Spain remains a mystery. Philip II had an interest in royal saints and acquired small relics of Malcolm III and Margaret in a reliquary that pictured and described them both as saints. However, he did not begin collecting relics until 1571. We only know with certainty that the manuscript was in the library of the Counts of Gondomar before it was donated to the Spanish Royal Library in the seventeenth century. John Durkan, 'Three Manuscripts with Fife Associations: and David Colville of Fife', *Innes Review*, 20:1 (1969), 47–58, (pp. 48–9).

[4] There is a conspicuous change of ink during the king-list after the death of Margaret, Maid of Norway on 25r. It seems that this is where the scribe's original exemplar ended, and space was left to add in further material on later kings. Although the ink changes, the hand appears to be that of the same scribe, updating the list to bring it into line with the time of compilation, the reign of James III. Margaret, Maid of Norway died in 1290, so it is likely that the exemplar of the king-list used for that first section was written shortly after 1290, in the very last years of the thirteenth century.

[5] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv. 34. 1.3a, f. 41; *Dunf. Reg.*, p. 3, with facsimile pp. 8 and 9.

written in the same hand throughout.[6] It is ruled for two columns of 35 lines and the text fills the page, leaving only small margins. It is unlikely that the manuscript was extensively trimmed when it was rebound as there is still evidence of pricking on the pages. It is rubricated throughout and decorated with some simple red flourishes that appear to be the work of the scribe of the main text. In all, these details suggest a relatively modest production, most probably within the abbey itself, rather than a royal commission of the kind described in Turgot's *Vita*.[7] The manuscript was designed with selective reading in mind: each section is clearly headed with a rubric to allow a reader to choose different brief texts. This layout is consistent throughout, with longer texts such as the *Vita* and the *Miracula* further broken up into shorter episodes. The consistency of presentation indicates that the fifteenth-century scribe/compiler saw this collection as a coherent group of texts. The theme of the collection is suggested by the title. In much larger script down the right-hand margin on the first page, 1r, the words 'Est Margarite de Dunfermlyne liber iste' ('This is the book of Margaret of Dunfermline') appear. This corresponds exactly with an entry in the thirteenth-century *Registrum de Dunfermline*, locating the exemplar of at least the first section of this manuscript – the 'Margaret'-texts – in thirteenth-century Dunfermline.[8] Whatever additions were made later, the compiler did not see any reason to remove or replace this initial title.

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[6] These scribbles consist of a draft calendar and the phrase 'Tu(m) fero langorem fero religion(em) amore(m)/ Expars languoris no(n) sum me(m)or hui(us) amor' ('When I consider my frailty, I also have in mind my love for religion. I am not afraid of my frailty when I remember this love.') The first half of this is written twice and is in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript. Transcription and translation are my own. This fragment of poetry is from the work of Serlo of Wilton. Öberg's edition gives 'Dum fero langorem, fero religionis amorem –/ Expers langoris, non sum memor huius amoris', but this is clearly the same fragment of poetry. *Serlon de Wilton: Poèmes Latins*, ed. by Jan Öberg (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965), p. 101. Odo of Cheriton (*d.*1246) also cites these lines in his sermons, which offers an intriguing link with the marginal annotation on f. 18v of Margaret's gospel-book, discussed in Chapter 1, p. 50. See Léopold Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins,* 5 vols (Paris: Librarie de Firmin-Didot et C^{ie}, 1893–9), vol. 4, p. 407.

[7] Turgot describes Malcolm ordering books to be decorated in gold and jewels for Margaret. See Chapter 1, p. 33.

[8] See fn. 5, above.

The manuscript contains a variety of religious and historical material as follows:[9]

ff. 1v–17v: *Vita*
ff. 17v–26r: Historical & legendary miscellany, including Scottish regnal list to James III
ff. 26r–41v: *Miracula*
ff. 41v–68r: Joscelin of Furness, *Vita S. Valleui abbatis de Melros*
ff. 68v–70v: Thomas of Ireland, *Liber de tribus punctis Christiane religionis*[10]
f. 71r: End of exempla from ff. 90r–v
ff. 71r: *De litteris huius nominis 'monachus'*
ff. 71r: *Pene infernales*
ff. 71v–77r: Ps.Augstine, *De miseria hominis*
f. 77r: *Terribile quoddam*
ff. 77v–79r: *Speculum claustralium*
f. 79r: *Altercatio inter cor et oculum*[11]
f. 79r: *Duodecim abusiones claustri*[12]
ff. 79r–v: *Admonicio ualde utilis et bona*
f. 79v: *Vt homo cognoscat seipsum quod sit*[13]
ff. 79v–80r: *De contemptu omnium uanitatum*[14]
ff. 80r–v: *De contemptu mundi et que sunt eius*
f. 80v: Bernard, *Exhortacio* (completed on ff. 91r–v)
ff. 81r–84v: Completion of the *Liber de tribus punctis Christiane religionis*
ff. 84v–87r: *De confessione secundum magistrum Thomam Hibernicum*
ff. 87r–89r: *Sermo de gaudiis paradise*[15]
ff. 89r–90r: *Sermo de penis inferni*
ff. 90r–v: Exempla (completed f. 71)
ff. 91r–91v: Completion of Bernard, *Exhortacio*
ff. 91v–92r: Short extracts: *fercula celi, fercula inferni*

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[9] In this chapter, I will discuss the *Vita*, *Miracula* and historical miscellany (C13th with C15th additions) in detail, as well as briefly considering Joscelin's *Vita* of St Waldef (C13th) and a sample of the devotional material, including the *duodecim abusiones claustri*.

[10] Late C13th to early C14th, James G. Clark, 'Thomas of Ireland', *ODNB*, accessed 16.05.16.

[11] C12th; the dating of *Altercato inter cor et oculum* is based on Thomas Wright's attribution of the poem to Walter Map in *The Latin Poems: Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes* (London: Camden Society, 1841), p. 93, and James Holly Hanford, 'The Debate of Heart and Eye', *Modern Language Notes* 26:6 (1911), 161–5, (p. 161).

[12] Late C12th, early C13th. *Duodecim abusiones claustri* is dated from Nigel Ramsay's assessment of London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian D xix, where this text originally appears. University of Sheffield, Humanities Research Insititute website <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/mss/ves4.htm> accessed 16.05.16. See also *Nigel of Canterbury: The Passion of St Lawrence, Epigrams and Marginal Poems*, ed. and trans. by Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 296.

[13] C13th, *Vt homo cognoscat seipsum quod sit* possibly derived from Thomas Aquinas. See Thomas Aquinas, *Thomae Aqvinatis Cotoris Angelici Complectens: Primam partem Summae Theologiae cum commentariis* (Rome, 1570), p. 205.

[14] *De contemptu omnium uanitatum* is attributed to Iohannis Gerson (*d.*1429) and also preserved in a C15th Venetian print by Bernardinus Benalius, University Of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Incunables Online <http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/record/T-105> accessed 16.05.16.

[15] *Sermo de gaudiis paradise* and *Sermo de penis inferni* are Augustinian. See Eric Leland Saak, *Creating Augustine: Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.111.

ff. 92v–93r: *Quod nullus differat tempus penitencie et confessionis*
ff. 93r–95v: *Disputacio inter corpus et animam predicti militis* (i.e. of the preceding story)
ff. 95v–106v: *De imitacione Christi et contemptu mundi et omnium uanitatem*
ff. 106v–107v: Story of Augustine in Oxfordshire[16]
f. 108r: Story of two Oxford scholars
ff. 108v–110v: *Destructio ciuitatis Ierusalem*
f. 110v: Half a dozen citations from Hugh of St Victor, Augustine, Caesarius
f. 111r: Blank
f. 111v: *Quidam clericus in nimia tristicia*
f. 112r: Scribbles, draft calendar[17]

How and when these texts were compiled together has been the subject of much critical debate.[18] Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula* were compiled together in the thirteenth century, as recorded in the Dunfermline *Registrum*, but whether other texts were compiled with them at that point or later is unclear. What is evident is that the 'Margaret'-texts began to be compiled together in the thirteenth century, and by the fifteenth century they were recopied and recompiled together, alongside the devotional material seen here. There is not space within the bounds of this thesis to discuss the composition date of every text within this manuscript. Rather, I will provide a survey of the critical field and suggest a probable date range for the *Vita*, *Mircula* and Dunfermline Chronicle section (ff. 17v–26r).

The manuscript contains texts gathered from many different sources and presents them as a coherent whole. It is likely, therefore, that the compiler brought these texts together purposefully. Even the additions to the king-list are in the same hand. It appears that the scribe had a thirteenth-century exemplar before him that contained Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula*, the

[16] The account of St Augustine of Canterbury's miracle is authored by Goscelin, who also wrote the *Vita* of St Laurence, discussed on p. 164 of this thesis. See Patrizia Lendinara, 'Forgotten Missionaries: St Augustine of Canterbury in Anglo-Saxon and Post-Conquest England', in *Hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England: Adopting and Adapting Saints' Lives into Old English Prose (c. 950–1150)*, ed. by Loredana Lazzari, Patrizia Lendinara and Claudia Di Sciacca (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 365–497.
[17] The table is from Bartlett's edition of the *Miracula*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.
[18] See Catherine Keene, 'The Dunfermline *Vita* of St. Margaret of Scotland: Hagiography as an Articulation of Hereditary Rights', *Arthuriana*, 19:3 (2009), pp. 43–61; Alice Taylor, 'Historical Writing in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Scotland: The Dunfermline Compilation', *Historical Research*, 83: 220 (2010), pp. 228–52; Watt, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 3, p. 193–5.

historical miscellany and a regnal list up to Margaret, Maid of Norway which he then expanded up to the reign of James III, his own time. The hagiographic and devotional material that takes up the rest of the manuscript appears to have been added piecemeal. Several texts are split between two places. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux's *Exhortatio* on 80v is completed on 91r–v. This appears to be because the scribe did not leave enough room to complete them and had to find the space elsewhere, rather than because of later rebinding out of order since these begin and end in the middle of columns and do not disrupt the continuity of texts either side of them. Aside from these texts split over two places and the regnal list, there is further evidence that this manuscript was copied according to a planned order but not beginning to end, such as the blank space on 41v. Here the scribe appears to have left too much space before writing the title of the next text. These devotional texts, then, were most probably copied in piece-by-piece following the 'Margaret'-texts. Certainly, there is no evidence that anything other than the 'Margaret'-texts was compiled together previously.

As for the 'Margaret'-texts, there are two main strands of debate surrounding the date of composition and first compilation for the *Vita*, *Miracula* and historical material that make up the first forty-one folios of the manuscript. These individually-authored texts were compiled together before they were recopied alongside the devotional material in the fifteenth-century compilation. As for the date of their composition, the debate places the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* either side of the composition of Ælred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia* in 1153–4. The *Genealogia* shares some material with the historical interpolations in the Dunfermline *Vita*, itself an expansion of the twelfth-century 'Cotton' version of Turgot's *Vita*.[19] Winifred and John MacQueen posit a

[19] The MacQueens' and Taylor's different timelines present a chicken-and-egg problem as regards the *Genealogia* as either source or product of the additions to the Dunfermline *Vita*. There is no concrete evidence in the text that indicates either way whether Ælred used the *Vita* as a source or whether a thirteenth-century compiler used Ælred's *Genealogia* to add historical material to the *Vita*. Fragments of historical material follow the *Vita*, and Ælred had strong connections with the court of David I, so it is not implausible that he might have had access to an early version of this *Vita*. Nor is it, though, implausible that a Dunfermline copyist might have had access to Ælred's *Genealogia*. Given the later

pre-1154 composition for the *Vita* as it appears in the Dunfermline manuscript, which they deem a source for Ælred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia*.[20] Alice Taylor argues that the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* was expanded for inclusion in a thirteenth-century compilation of 'Margaret'-texts, now the first third of the manuscript. She dates composition of this compilation to between 1249 and 1285 tying it explicitly to Alexander III's campaign to be granted rights of unction by the Pope, since these texts support the legitimacy and dignity of the Scottish royal line as equal to those kings already granted rights of unction, including the kings of England.[21] Keene follows the MacQueens' earlier dating on the grounds that the *Vita* mentions only Margaret's gospel-book miracle and does not include a translation story, though this would not necessarily demand an early date if the *Vita* was expanded in the thirteenth century – taking material from Ælred – for the purpose of compiling it alongside the *Miracula*.[22] It thus seems likely to me that the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* was composed at roughly the same time as the *Miracula*, perhaps even for the purpose of being read alongside it. If this *Vita* was expanded precisely to be read alongside the *Miracula*, there would be no need to add in miracle or translation material.

There is very little in terms of concrete evidence for the date of original composition for the expanded *Vita* or the *Miracula*. There is one dateable miracle contained in the *Miracula*, at the Battle of Largs, which the manuscript itself dates to 1263 (29v). This is the seventh miracle and as such appears relatively close to the beginning of the *Miracula*. Unless the scribe undertook an extensive reordering of the miracles in his exemplar, which seems quite unlikely, it seems

addition of historical fragments in the Dunfermline MS between the *Vita* and the *Miracula*, I would suggest that if material was added from Ælred, it was to a version older even than that used as the exemplar for the 'Margaret' compilation in the first third of the manuscript. It is unlikely that a Dunfermline scribe copying these texts would have made significant editorial changes to the text before him.

[20] Watt, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 3, p. 193.

[21] Taylor, 'Historical Writing', pp. 234, 247.

[22] Keene in her article 'Hereditary Rights' supports the earlier dating on the grounds that all of the analogous stories are either late eleventh or early twelfth century. In addition, the *Vita* does not record any miracles of Margaret or her translation in 1180, or make any reference to the cult of Edward the Confessor, who was canonised in 1161 (p. 53).

reasonable to assume that these miracles existed more or less in the same order that they survive today in their thirteenth-century compilation. These miracles were most probably written at Dunfermline Abbey by the monks themselves; as I will discuss below, they show a particular interest in the community of monks there, and many of the miracle-stories take place at the shrine in the abbey itself.

As to the function of this earlier compilation, Taylor suggests that:

> This motley collection of narratives in the Dunfermline Continuations was, in fact, put together for two very clear aims: to establish the children of Margaret and Malcolm as the legitimate heirs to the kingship following Malcolm's death in 1093 […] and to stress the prominent role that their uncle, Edgar Ætheling, played in bringing about their establishment as kings of Scots.[23]

She ties this specifically to Alexander III's campaign for rights of unction in order to generate her *terminus ante quem* of 1285 – the last year Alexander III petitioned the Pope for rights of unction.[24] While Taylor's argument for the political influence such a compilation could exert is convincing, I would hesitate to tie it specifically to the campaign for the rights of unction. The compilation might more safely be said to be aimed more generally at promoting and bolstering the power and influence of the Scottish royal family, an aim evidently pressing in the years following the death of Margaret, Maid of Norway, where the regnal list exemplar appears to have ended. On account of this, I would extend Taylor's *terminus ante quem* to 1290, the death of Margaret, Maid of Norway, and potentially the following couple of years before the beginning of the reign of John Balliol.

Thus, the fifteenth-century scribe-compiler was working with individually-authored but pre-compiled material. It is unlikely that they would have made any significant changes or additions, so it is quite probable that this section is largely unchanged from its thirteenth-century exemplar

[23] Taylor, 'Historical Writing', p. 243.
[24] Taylor, 'Historical Writing', p. 235.

apart from the addition of more kings to the regnal list. This manuscript stands as evidence that in the fifteenth century, two hundred years after its composition, the earlier politically-focused compilation of 'Margaret'-texts was being read and re-copied. That it was compiled alongside a *Vita* of another saint from the same family and a wealth of devotional material is testament to Margaret's enduring spiritual and political significance. As it survives, this fifteenth-century manuscript reveals an evolutionary process of compilation in which more and more texts were being read alongside the *Vita* that had originally been composed by Turgot in the early twelfth century. Through attention to this manuscript as a 'whole book' we can assess both how Margaret was viewed in the thirteenth century when the 'Margaret'-compilation (the *Vita*, *Miracula*, Dunfermline Chronicle and king-list) was made and how this was read and re-used in the fifteenth century. Throughout the Dunfermline manuscript compilation, religious devotion to Margaret and Dunfermline is seamlessly synthesised with the promotion and protection of Scottish sovereignty and the Scottish royal line, which is itself closely linked to the power and status of the religious foundation of Dunfermline Abbey throughout the centuries covered by this manuscript from the original composition of these texts to their eventual recompilation in the fifteenth century.

Dunfermline Abbey

Dunfermline Abbey church was built at Margaret's instigation on the site where she and Malcolm were married.[25] There is still some existing evidence of this early structure today.

[25] This is according to Turgot, who states that Margaret 'æternum sui nominis et religositatis erexit monumentum' ('set up an eternal memorial of her name and religious devotion') at Dunfermline where 'nuptiæ fuerant celebratæ' ('her marriage celebrations had taken place'). This church was intended, 'ob animæ videlicet regis et suæ redemptionem, atque ad obtinendam suæ soboli vitæ præsentis et futuræ prosperitatem' ('namely, for the redemption of the king's soul, and for her own, and also to ensure for her children prosperity in this present life, and in the life to come'), *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, vol. 1 (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society, 1868), ed. by John Hodgson-Hinde, pp. 238–9. Translations are my own.

Beneath the floor of the twelfth-century nave there are some remains of an earlier, simpler structure, which Richard Fawcett believes 'certainly wholly or partly represents the church built by Margaret'.[26] Whether or not this is the church that Margaret had built to mark her marriage, the association of Margaret and Malcolm's marriage with the foundation of Dunfermline locates it at the origin-point of the new royal line of Scotland. From this point onwards, Dunfermline Abbey's fortunes fluctuated more or less in line with those of Malcolm and Margaret's descendants.[27]

Margaret was buried at Dunfermline Abbey following her death in 1093. Malcolm's tomb was later placed beside Margaret's in the church, but he was originally buried near the site of his death at Alnwick in Tynemouth Abbey.[28] William of Malmesbury reports that Malcolm's remains rested at Tynemouth for many years, but were 'nuper ab Alexandro filio Scottiam ad Dunfermelin portatus est', a detail left out of both this Dunfermline compilation and Bower's *Scotichronicon*, texts deeply invested in the promotion of the Scottish royal line for which Dunfermline forms a key genealogical focal point.[29] Three of their sons – Edgar, Alexander I and David I – were buried there, and David I spent a considerable amount of money rebuilding the abbey and making it grander.[30] From then on, Dunfermline enjoyed favour first from Margaret's direct descendants as a royal burial place and later from Robert I as he attempted to bolster the Bruce dynasty by associating it with Malcolm and Margaret's royal line.[31] During the fourteenth century Dunfermline was the burial place of the Scottish queens Euphemia Ross and Annabella

[26] Richard Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. by Richard Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2005), pp. 27–64, (p. 27).
[27] See Steve Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum', *Royal Dunfermline*, pp. 139–53, *passim*.
[28] G.W.S. Barrow, 'Malcolm III', *ODNB*, accessed 17.05.16.
[29] 'recently moved by his son Alexander to Dunfermline in Scotland', William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. by R.A.B. Mynors et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 464–5.
[30] Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey Church', p. 33. Dunfermline was the only place north of the Forth in which David I showed any significant interest. There even appears to have been the beginnings of a cult for David I at Dunfermline, though this never took hold. Richard Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), pp. 78, 145.
[31] Boardman, 'Royal Mausoleum', p. 144.

Drummond, both of whom chose to be buried in the abbey despite the fact that their husbands were buried elsewhere.[32] Clearly, Dunfermline was seen as an eminently suitable resting-place for Scottish queens. This practice had stopped by the sixteenth century as from the fifteenth century the Queens of Scotland came from outside the kingdom and were perhaps not so mindful of the particular history and symbolism of Dunfermline Abbey as a burial site.[33] By the sixteenth century Dunfermline had lost its prominence and was considered one of several competing Scottish royal burial sites.[34] Back in the fifteenth century, when our manuscript was compiled, the significance of Dunfermline as a religious and dynastic site was still strong. James III, the final king in the Dunfermline compilation's regnal list and reigning monarch at the time it was copied, confirmed all of Dunfermline's previous royal grants and – most significantly – did so because of his ancestor, St Margaret.[35] Clearly, four hundred years after her death Margaret was still a politically useful ancestor, and Dunfermline was still benefitting from royal favour.

Dunfermline also occupied a politically advantageous location, being close to the northern counties of England over which the Scottish kings of Margaret's line continued to exercise claims.[36] Previously, Iona had been the traditional burial place of Scottish kings, but Dunfermline and Edinburgh offered a better military advantage for raiding into Northumbria and so, for Malcolm and his descendants, was a more attractive royal base than sites further north.[37] Dunfermline itself was enough of a politically valuable site that during the wars of independence Edward I chose to spend the winter of 1303–4 there as he attempted to establish his position.[38] No doubt geographical strategy was uppermost in Edward's mind, but he may also have seen

[32] Boardman, 'Royal Mausoleum', p. 148.
[33] Boardman, 'Royal Mausoleum,' p. 148.
[34] Boardman, 'Royal Mausoleum', p. 149.
[35] *Dunf. Reg.* no. 434, pp. 320–40.
[36] Aonghus Mackechnie, 'The Royal Palace of Dunfermline', in *Royal Dunfermline*, pp. 101–38, (p. 102).
[37] Mackechnie, 'Royal Palace', p. 102. However, Boardman in the same volume is sceptical of this, suggesting that the attribution of Iona as the burial-place for previous Scottish monarchs is based on a twelfth-century king-list rather than contemporary sources. Boardman 'Royal Mausoleum', p. 140.
[38] Boardman, 'Royal Mausoleum', p. 144.

occupying a site symbolic of Malcolm and Margaret's dynasty as a means of legitimising his overlordship of the Scottish kingdom.[39]

Not long after her death, and almost a hundred years before her official canonisation in 1249, Margaret was being popularly venerated as a saint in Scotland, and Dunfermline Abbey was the focal point for that cult. A monk of Durham, named Reginald, visiting Dunfermline in the 1160s to promote the cult of St Cuthbert, described crowds of pilgrims visiting Margaret's tomb on what would later be officially recognised as her natal feast-day, the 16th November.[40] Her descendant King William the Lion also asserted her sainthood before Margaret was officially canonised, after reporting a vision while praying at her tomb in 1199.[41]

Dunfermline Abbey was also a centre of book production in fifteenth-century Scotland. The fifteenth-century chronicle known as the *Liber Pluscardensis* was compiled there on the orders of the Abbot of Dunfermline in 1461.[42] Two copies of this chronicle (Glasgow, University Library, Gen. 333 and Oxford, Bodelian Library, MS Fairfax 8) were made at Dunfermline in 1479–97 and 1489 respectively.[43] A Psalter (Bologne, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 92) and a *Compendium Theologice Veritatis* (Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Library, MS 72) also originated in Dunfermline in the late fifteenth century. It comes as no surprise that the foundation of this bookish queen became a centre of book production, nor that a volume that identifies itself as

[39] Mackechnie, 'The Royal Palace of Dunfermline', p. 105.
[40] Peter A. Yeoman, 'Saint Margaret's Shrine at Dunfermline Abbey', *Royal Dunfermline*, pp. 79–88, (p. 81); Bartlett, pp. xlv–vi.
[41] Yeoman, 'Margaret's Shrine', p. 81. See also D. D. R. Owen, *William the Lion: Kingship and Culture 1143–1214* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1997), pp. 89–90.
[42] Bartlett, p. xxxii, fn. 51. See Chapter 5 p. 258.
[43] Bartlett, p. xxxii, fn. 51.

'The book of Margaret of Dunfermline' should have been produced here and be such a varied compendium of different texts.[44]

Dunfermline's significance has been long-lasting and wide-ranging, encompassing the military, the literary, the political, the spiritual and the genealogical. Likewise Margaret herself in this compilation takes on many roles, providing divine military support in the *Miracula*, political support in the form of encouraging veneration to a Scottish royal burial site, spiritual support to the monks of Dunfermline and the pilgrims who come seeking healing and, of course, the genealogical basis of a Scottish royal line that would be traced back by generations of Scottish kings to come.

Dunfermline *Vita*

In my previous chapter on Turgot's *Vita* I explored in some detail on the general themes and stated purpose of Margaret's *Vita*. Here the discussion will focus only on the significant differences between the 'Dunfermline' and the 'Cotton' *Vita*, namely the expanded genealogy, the different representation of Malcolm III and the heavy focus on legal reform.

Previously, I discussed the ways in which Turgot's representation of Margaret is largely patterned after hagiographical convention, biblical example and traditional clerical advice for virtuous wives. The purpose of this was to provide a model for Matilda to emulate in order to be a virtuous and effective queen, and material that, through wider dissemination, would promote the

[44] For more information on book production at Dunfermline, see: *Liber Pluscardensis,* ed. and trans. by Felix J.H. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1877–80); Marjorie Drexler, 'The Extant Abridgements of Walter Bower's "Scotichronicon"', *SHR*, 61 (1982), pp. 62–7; Sally Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon's* First Readers', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1999), pp. 31–55; R.J. Lyall, 'Books and Book-Owners in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; reissued 2007), pp. 239–56; John Higgitt, *Scottish Libraries* (London: British Library, 2006), pp. 93–6.

orthodoxy and virtue of the Scottish court over which her mother had been queen. The Dunfermline *Vita* is an interpolated version of the early twelfth-century 'Cotton' *Vita*, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The Dunfermline *Vita* is significantly longer and its additions all serve to show the Scottish royal court in general and Malcolm III in particular in a much more flattering light.

The Dunfermline *Vita*'s most significant work is undertaken in the rewriting of Malcolm rather than the writing of Margaret, but the two are interdependent: the balance of power between saint-queen and heathen husband versus that between two powerful and virtuous rulers acting in unison and worthy of one another is reflected outside of the text in the political context of the two versions' composition and compilation. This is typical of 'the dialogic nature of Scottish writings [which] enables a kind of writing back to England that becomes indistinguishable from the nationalist project of writing Scotland'.[45] Indeed, the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* interpolations draw specific comparison between English and Scottish rule; though a saint's life, it reads as a distinctly political text. Margaret, Anglo-Saxon princess, and wife and mother to Scottish kings, appears alongside a much-ennobled portrait of Malcolm III in a dual image of ideal rulership which somewhat eclipses the *Vita*'s presentation of her as saint.

The different political weighting of the Dunfermline *Vita* is immediately evident from the first significant alteration: the expansion of the genealogy of the 'Cotton' *Vita*. While the 'Cotton' *Vita* briefly outlines Margaret's noble lineage and constructs a tenuous link with the Norman ancestors of Edward the Confessor in order to present Margaret as heir to his sanctity, the

[45] Katherine H. Terrell, 'Subversive Histories: Strategies of Identity in Scottish Historiography', in *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 153–72, (p. 154).

Dunfermline *Vita* situates both Margaret and the Scottish royal genealogy within the wider frame of salvation history.

The 'Cotton' *Vita* begins with a genealogy that connects Margaret to Edward the Confessor, her half-uncle, and (somewhat spuriously) to Richard, the father of Emma of Normandy who 'servorum Christi servus fuit humillissimus' ('was the humblest servant of the servants of Christ').[46] This also serves to present Margaret as acceptably Norman for an Anglo-Norman court audience. In contrast, the Dunfermline *Vita* bypasses Turgot's tenuous links with Norman family by marriage and begins with Adam, tracing Margaret's royal lineage to the beginning of human existence and salvation history, and positing a line of God-ordained kings:[47]

> [R]eperitur ab Adam patre cunctorum mortalium lineam huius sancte generationis descendisse ostendemus, ut omissis antiquissimis quorum historias vetustas ipsa delevit, perexellenciores reges anglie eorum sublimioria queque gesta summatim tangendo redeamus.[48]

This genealogy is then traced from Adam to Noah to Woden – making the royal line also a nexus in which Christian and pagan divine power meet – and then onwards in detail through the Anglo-Saxon kings of England, focusing particularly on King Edgar because of his extensive patronage of the Church, and Edmund Ironside, Margaret's uncle.[49] At this point, the genealogy

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[46] p. 237.
[47] See Chapter 2, p. 186.
[48] 'We will show that the line of this holy family has descended from Adam, the father of all mortals, so, omitting the most ancient ones whose histories old age itself has destroyed, let us recall the more excellent kings of England by touching briefly upon their more sublime deeds', p. 141.
[49] Of Edgar, the Dunfermline interpolator says: 'Erat etiam anglis non minus memorabilis, quam cyrus persis, karolus francis, romulus romanis' ('He was no less memorable for the English than Cyrus was for the Persians, Charles was for the Franks, and Romulus was for the Romans'). This appears to be largely because '[i]ste edgarus per angliam quadraginta construxit monasteria' ('[t]his Edgar built 40 monasteries throughout England'), pp. 149–50. Edgar seems a strange choice for such an honour in a tradition that encompasses both legendary kings like King Arthur – who is notably never associated with Margaret – and historical kings such as King Alfred the Great, who does form part of this genealogy of Margaret. Given the compilation's probable composition within a royally-founded abbey, though, perhaps this strong bias towards a king who was a monastic patron is unsurprising. Andrew of Wyntoun also extends Margaret's genealogy back to Adam and Woden. See Chapter 5, p. 264.

expands into a discussion of Anglo-Danish relations following the death of Æthelred the Unready.

This genealogy ends with two episodes of regicide – of Edmund Ironside and of Edward the Confessor – which are carefully positioned to mirror Malcolm's encounter with a traitor later in the *Vita*. In this episode Malcolm, hearing that a traitor who intends to kill him is at court, willingly pairs himself with the traitor as they go out hunting and, when they are alone, challenges him to carry out the murder he has planned. This results in the traitor falling to his knees in tears and begging forgiveness.[50] Like Edmund Ironside with Cnut (discussed below), the honourable king challenges his enemy to single combat, but unlike Edmund Ironside, Malcolm's opponent does not match him in valour or in status. This episode explicitly demonstrates that Malcolm was a worthy husband for Margaret:

> Igitur de hac virtutis femina locuturi quia caput mulieris vir sicut et viri christus, ideo de viro suo tanquam de capite duximus aliquid praetermittendum, ut cuius fuerit cordis quanti ne animi, unum opus eius hic exaratum legentibus declaret.[51]

Following on from the two episodes of rightful Anglo-Saxon kings killed by treachery, this scene – added in by the Dunfermline interpolator – positions Malcolm as inheritor of the kind of ideal

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[50] 'Behold, he [Malcolm] said, we are alone with each other, similarly armed and on similar horses; no one is here to help me, nor to aid you; no one can see nor hear us. Now, if you are strong, if you dare, if you have the heart, indeed satisfy by deed what you conceived in your heart, and return to my enemies what you promised. If you think to kill me, when would be better, safer, more free, and finally more manly? Or rather, did you prepare poison? But who does not know that this is girlish? Or do you lie in ambush in a bed? Even adulteresses are able to do this. Or do you hide so that you might secretly strike with the sword? Let no one doubt that this is the work of an assassin not a soldier. Do what better becomes a soldier and not a traitor, do what is manly and not womanly, and come together alone with me alone, so that at least your treason might be free from depravity, since it cannot be free from your infidelity. So far, this iniquitous man hardly bore these things, and soon struck by the king's words as if by a heavy thunderbolt, he very quickly descended from the horse he was riding, and throwing down his weapons, he ran to the feet of the king [sic throughout]', pp. 174–5. It is worthy of note that Malcolm's challenge to the traitor is consistently and explicitly gendered. Malcolm acts well within the bounds of a masculine warrior-king – he is brave and challenges his opponent to open battle – and openly questions the masculinity of the traitor, suggesting that killing outside of battle is gendered female.

[51] 'Since it will be said about this woman of virtue that man is the head of woman just as Christ is the head of man, we deem that something should be presented regarding her husband as the head – he whose heart was worth no less than his mind – so that one of his deeds unearthed here may be stated for those reading', p. 173.

kingship represented by Margaret's ancestors. The blood connection might be on Margaret's side, but Malcolm is implicitly represented as a king in the mould of his wife's forebears.

The first analogue to this is the single combat agreed between Cnut and Edmund Ironside. Cnut recognises Edmund Ironside's nobility and skill in battle, and as a result claims 'supra modum te amicum cupiam, et regni consortem exoptem'.[52] It is only after this image of cooperation, mutual respect and compromise that Edmund Ironside is shamefully and treacherously murdered by an unnamed Dane when 'ad requisita nature nudatum'.[53] As with Malcolm's encounter with the traitor, the good king (Edmund, Malcolm) offers single combat and shows bravery, wisdom and mercy, but is eventually betrayed and killed by deception – Edmund at his toilet and Malcolm when raiding in Northumbria. This establishes the pattern that a just and rightful king can only be killed before his time by shameful deception and treachery, never by a fit successor.[54]

This same duel between Cnut and Edmund Ironside appears in Ælred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia*.[55] The murderer, though, is described very differently. The 'Dunfermline' *Vita* blames the murder on an unnamed 'oculus malicie dacus' ('Danish eye of evil'), but both Hermann the Archdeacon (1070–1100) and William of Malmesbury – in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* – identify the Anglo-Saxon Eadric Streona as the murderer, rather than a Dane.[56] The *Vita* thus shifts the emphasis

[52] 'I desire your friendship above measure, and I wish to rule together', p. 159.
[53] '[he was] stripped to do what is required by nature', p. 161.
[54] It is not immediately apparent why the Dunfermline compiler – or Ælred of Rievaulx – might want to present Cnut in a relatively positive light. One possibility is the potential for Danish sympathy in the Danelaw, the north-eastern territories of England where Ælred had lived and worked. The other possibility is simply as a contrast to the Norman connections which the 'Cotton' *Vita* suggests for Margaret. This parallel with the Danish king serves to further distance the Scottish royal line from the Anglo-Norman English.
[55] Watt identifies this passage as from cols. 731–2 of the *Genealogia* (*Scotichronicon*, vol. 3, p. 453). Here Bower is following Fordun, and the same story is also repeated by William of Malmesbury.
[56] p. 161. Hermann the Archdeacon, *Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, vol. 1 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), p. 39. Bury St. Edmund's was founded by Cnut in 1020 and heavily patronised by him, which might explain why the Danes are exculpated by placing the blame on

from political discord and disorder from within the state to an external, quasi-demonic 'eye of evil'. The shift of threat from the internal to the external allows both Danish and English king to offer models of good governance, as Cnut then proceeds to execute the Dane who killed Edmund and Edmund's rule appears more cohesive without a traitor from within.

Cnut is not the only King of England offered as an analogue for Malcolm's encounter with the traitor. An equivalence is also drawn between Malcolm and Margaret's half-uncle Edward the Confessor in an episode that also appears in Ælred of Rievaulx's *Vita Ædwardi*.[57] In this episode, divine intervention reveals Godwin as the traitor who murdered Edward's brother, Alfred:

> Scio inquit scio o rex quam, adhuc de morte fratris tui tuus me apud te animus accusat, nec eis adhuc estimas discredendum, qui vel eius vel tuum me menciuntur proditorem. Sed secretorum omnium conscius deus, rem veram inde iudicet et sic bucellam hanc quam gluciendam manu teneo, guttur meum pertransire faciat et me servet illesum et non suffocatum, sicut ne de tua prodicione reum me sencio, nec de fratris tui interitu michi conscius existo. Dixit et buccellam a rege benedictum intulit ori, et usque in medium guttoris attraxit. Tunc ulcione divina inibi firmiter hesit sed inhesit, temptat interius semisuffocatus attraxhere, set [*sic*] adhesit firmius, temptat emitter sed cohesit firmissime.[58]

Godwin is explicitly killed 'ulcione divina' ('by divine vengeance'), and the pattern of Anglo-Saxon saint/martyr kings continues.[59] Thus, by analogy, Malcolm appears in the mould of an Anglo-Saxon martyr-king.

Eadric Streona, an Anglo-Saxon, although Hermann was writing *c.*1097, and therefore under Anglo-Norman rule. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, vol. 1, p. 318.

[57] <*http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/all/fulltext?action=byid&id=Z400095466*> accessed 17.05.16.

[58] 'I know, he said, I know, O king, that even now your spirit accuses me of the death of your brother, and that you believe those who lie, calling me a traitor to both him and you. May God, who knows all secrets, judge the truth of this matter; and just as He may allow me to swallow this small morsel that I am holding in my hand and may keep me unharmed and not let me choke on it, so too I know that I am not guilty of your betrayal nor am I implicated in the death of your brother. He spoke, and he put the small morsel blessed by the king into his mouth, and drew it into the middle of the throat. Then by divine vengeance it stuck firmly within, and stuck more; half suffocated, Godwin tried to swallow it, but it stuck even more firmly; he tried to spit it out, but it stuck most firmly [sic throughout].' p. 165.

[59] p. 165.

Malcolm is a fit husband for Margaret because he is a king like her ancestors. He is a brave warrior, and forms an ideal counterpart to Margaret as pious queen. Together they form the image of an ideal king and queen: Malcolm is brave, strong, and an honourable warrior; Margaret is a pious queen offering mercy and charity to the people, and counsel to her husband. The image of cooperative rule here is in stark contrast to how Malcolm appears in the 'Cotton' *Vita*, in which he is emphatically a heathen illiterate in desperate need of Margaret's civilising influence.[60] In the Dunfermline *Vita*, Malcolm's education and ability to read are explicitly addressed in a manner that counters the claims of the Cotton *Vita* to suggest the opposite – that Malcolm was very well educated, and spoke many languages: 'Anglicam enim linguam simul et romanam eque ut propriam perfecte didicerat'.[61] Instead of the antithetical opposition of heathen husband and learned wife, the Malcolm and Margaret of the Dunfermline *Vita* form a complementary pair – she applying her education and skill to matters of Church and spirit, he applying his to politics and worldly rule.

In the Dunfermline *Vita*, Malcolm and Margaret reform Scotland together. Margaret's focus is on Scotland's spiritual wellbeing, as is evident in the description of her at church councils:

> Crederes autem ibi alteram helenam residere, quia sicut illa quondam sentenciis scripturam iudeos convicerat similiter nunc et hec regina convicerat illius gentis erroneos.[62]

As in the 'Cotton' *Vita*, Margaret is likened to St Helena, a model of ideal queenship in which saintly queenship is partnered with secular and martial kingship.[63] The reference to St Helena in

[60] The 'Cotton' Vita says that Malcolm was 'ignarus […] literarum' ('ignorant of his letters'), p. 241. In Chapter 1, I go into more detail about what exactly might be meant by this – whether it might have indicated a lack of Latin learning rather than the inability to read, see esp. fn. 12.
[61] 'For he had learned the English language at the same time as the Roman as equally and as perfectly as his own', p. 172.
[62] 'You would have believed another Helen resided there, since just as she once had overcome the Jews with passages of scripture, now similarly this queen overcame the errors of this people', p. 189.

the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* is just as explicit, and therefore also the model of rulership – both king and queen together – with which this is associated.

The 'Dunfermline' *Vita* goes on to describe the reform of secular laws in Scotland, but explicitly frames this as a project undertaken by both King and Queen. While the 'Cotton' *Vita* simply relates that Margaret countered certain unjust practices, the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* gives specific instances of secular laws (not just the religious laws regarding Easter and communion referenced in the 'Cotton' *Vita*) that Malcolm changed. In the 'Cotton' *Vita*, this is all done through Margaret's persuasion.[64] Malcolm is recast in the 'Dunfermline' *Vita* in a much more active role. The king who simply translated Margaret's wishes as 'adjutor' ('assistant') in the 'Cotton' *Vita* is an indispensable and sensitive diplomat in the 'Dunfermline' *Vita*: 'quoniam perfecte anglorum linguam noverat, vigilantissimus in hoc consilio utriusque partis interpres exciterat.'[65] The 'Dunfermline' *Vita* emphasises Malcolm's skill – his English is 'perfect[us]' ('perfect') and he is 'vigilantissimus' ('most vigilant') in his translation – and makes his role of 'adjutor' ('assistant') to Margaret one of significance rather than servility.

These legal reforms were: any man or woman who wanted to free a slave must be permitted to do so; the king must not receive bribes from thieves or robbers; those exiled by the king could not, once pardoned and returned, bring old legal cases without proper witnesses or an offer of single combat since previously the king had destroyed homes or confiscated property of people without proper evidence; that the king must no longer seek to have himself adopted by old, rich

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[63] See Chapter 2, p. 95.

[64] 'Quorum Conciliorum illus cæteris principalius esse constat, in quo sola, cum paucissimis suorum, contra perversa consuetudinis assertores, gladio Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, triduo dimicabat. Crederes alteram ibi Helenam residere, quia, sicut illa quondam Scripturarum sententiis Judæos, similiter nunc et hæc regina convicerat erroneos' ('Among these councils the most important is that in which for three days she, with a very few of her friends, combated the defenders of a perverse custom with the sword of the Spirit, that is to say with the Word of God. It seemed as if a second Helena were there present, for just as she in former days by citing passages from the Scriptures overcame the Jews, so in our times did this queen those who were in error'). 'Cotton' *Vita*, p. 243.

[65] p. 243. '[S]ince he knew the language of the English perfectly, he came forth as a most vigilant interpreter of each party of this council', p. 189.

childless people in order to inherit their land and goods; and finally that the king could not stand in judgement on any case against him.[66] Taken together, these laws suggest far more about the king's rule of himself than his rule of the country; the legal reform suggested by Margaret and undertaken by Malcolm ensures that the king's justice is beyond reproach, and thereby asserts the authority of the monarch. The Dunfermline *Vita*'s emphasis on specific legal reforms thus promotes both an image of the king as a good ruler of himself and therefore a good ruler of his people, and also as a strong ruler whose legitimacy would be unassailable.

The expansion of Malcolm's power in the Dunfermline *Vita* comes at the expense of Margaret's. In the Dunfermline *Vita* Margaret is not a dominant and independent queen, but one whose authority is dependent on Malcolm's permission. Even as the legal changes carried out at Margaret's suggestion are implemented, the Dunfermline *Vita* reminds us that 'caput mulieris vir sicut et viri christus', so was Malcolm the 'head' of Margaret's campaign of reform.[67] The Dunfermline *Vita*, adapted by male clerics at Dunfermline rather than written at the behest of a queen, underscores male authority and emphasises the dependent nature of female power. Margaret's arguments cannot instigate reform on their own; that comes only from Malcolm's indulgence of these requests:

> Unde et ipse rex quedam iniqua et regali pietati contraria que ab antecessoribus suis contra omnem pietatis iusticiam usurpata fuerant, pro dei amore et regine obsecracione penitus delevit[.][68]

The 'ipse' ('himself') is emphatic, identifying Malcolm himself as the source of the reform. Margaret is only mentioned afterwards, and her persuasion syntactically subordinated to Malcolm's 'dei amore' ('love of God') as a secondary cause. Margaret achieves this through 'obsecractione' ('entreaty') – supplication as one of lesser authority. This is a stark contrast with

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[66] pp. 190–1.
[67] '[as it is said that] man is the head of woman just as Christ is the head of man', p.173.
[68] 'Whence the king thoroughly eliminated certain unjust practices contrary to royal piety, which had been done inappropriately by his ancestors against all pious justice. He did so for love of God and at the queen's entreaty', p. 189.

the representation of Margaret's reform in the 'Cotton' *Vita*, where she herself acts with forceful authority underlined by Scripture.[69] Here, Malcolm is the active agent of reform under Margaret's influence and advice, a far cry from the 'Cotton' *Vita*'s illiterate heathen passively in need of Margaret's instruction. Margaret might act as counsellor and advisor, but the authority rests with Malcolm, not with Margaret, despite her knowledge of and obedience to Scripture.[70]

So the Dunfermline *Vita* offers not so much the image of a perfect queen bringing English (or more widely European) civilisation and religious orthodoxy to a heathen Scottish court ruled by an uneducated king, but instead the image of king and queen in their proper place. The King appears as a noble, honourable warrior and the primary source of authority, the Queen as his partner, piously offering advice but not usurping a position of power that might challenge the primacy of male rule or, indeed, as an extension thereof, Scottish kingship. The expanded genealogy, the addition of the Malcolm and the traitor episode and the emphasis on specific legal reforms undertaken by Malcolm himself, all indicate a concern with kingship, legitimacy and good governance. Just as Margaret was useful as a model of queenship to her twelfth-century biographer, to the thirteenth-century interpolator of the Dunfermline *Vita* and subsequent generations of compilers, Margaret's existing cult and status as saintly queen offered a unique opportunity to present Malcolm as her equal, and the pair of them as an ideal king and queen. This in turn serves to promote their line as the legitimate and God-ordained rulers of Scotland, and potentially England as well, for it is no accident that the genealogy focuses on Margaret's ancestors and likens Malcolm to them, rather than to Malcolm's own Scottish ancestors.

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[69] For 'obsecracione', the *DMLBS* gives '1. entreaty, supplication 2. prayer.' This firmly positions Malcolm in the place of authority. For contrast, see Chapter 2, p. 95.

[70] Again, Margaret's authority is mediated through Scripture in the 'Cotton' *Vita*: 'Nec mirandum quod sapiens regina tanto se suosque regimine moderabatur, quæ sapientissimo sacræ semper Scripturæ magisterio regebatur', p. 240 ('Nor need we wonder that the queen governed herself and her household so wisely when we know that she always guided herself by the wisest of masters, the rule of the Holy Scriptures.')

The *Miracula*

The *Vita* is followed by a regnal list and a historical miscellany (which Alice Taylor divides into the 'Dunfermline Continuations' and the 'Dunfermline Chronicle'), and then by the *Miracula*, a collection of Margaret's miracles.[71] The *Miracula* forms a companion-piece to the *Vita*, recording the Queen's posthumous miracles in a manner that complements the *Vita*'s account of her virtuous life. These miracles are unique in being the only miracle-list to survive from a Scottish shrine.[72] Bartlett and Baker suggest that these miracles were compiled in order to support a campaign for Margaret's canonisation – granted in 1250 by Pope Innocent IV – but they also serve important political functions, promoting Dunfermline as a site of pilgrimage and thereby supporting Scottish independence and the dignity and power of the Scottish royal line.[73] These miracles were most likely composed at Dunfermline by the monks there.

In the *Miracula*, representation of Margaret shifts from that of pious and exemplary queen to encompass more usual saintly roles of healing and spiritual guidance. Margaret also becomes firmly associated with her shrine. This marks a divergence from Turgot's *Vita*, which was meant not for devotional purposes but for the guidance of Margaret's daughter Matilda.[74] The *Miracula* potentially reflects the beginning of a more devotional attitude towards Margaret's cult. Whether the collection was compiled to support a canonisation claim (which in part seems likely) and later brought in to support the political claims of other members of the Scottish royal line cannot be fully determined. What is clear is that although the *Miracula* is more typically hagiographical, there is still a deep political investment behind it.

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[71] Taylor, 'Historical Writing', pp. 228–52, passim.
[72] Yeoman 'Margaret's Shrine', p. 79.
[73] Bartlett, *Miracles*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii; Derek Baker, '"A Nursery of Saints": St Margaret of Scotland Reconsidered', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 120–1.
[74] Melissa M. Coll-Smith, 'From Chronicle to Liturgy: Scottish Sources of the Legend of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland', in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Janet Hadley-Williams and J. Derrick McClure (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 143–64, (p. 144).

While the Margaret of the *Vita* appears to be heavily patterned after scriptural and hagiographical precedent, in the *Miracula* we are able to get more of a sense of how Margaret was perceived in the years after her death.[75] Miracles often reflect the character of the saints themselves, rather than the tradition of Christ-like sanctity that recurs in hagiography.[76] In Margaret's case, she is distinguished by her particular care for and devotion to Dunfermline Abbey and its monks, by her use of beating as a healing tool, and by her consistent representation as queenly as well as saintly. Before discussing these distinguishing trends it will be helpful to examine three particularly striking and unusual miracles as case studies: Miracle 5 in which a man is struck mute; Miracle 13 in which a girl is freed from a demon; and Miracle 24 in which Margaret saves a rapist from the death penalty.

The Margaret of the *Miracula* works many miracles, the majority of which were common for female saints of this time. Although Margaret later came to be associated with pregnancy and childbirth (perhaps due to confusion with St Margaret of Antioch, who was patron saint of childbirth), she does not offer any special protection for pregnant women or women in childbirth in the *Miracula* and most of those cured by Margaret are male (27 out of 44).[77] Margaret's healing miracles are spread relatively typically across different ailments, but the beneficiaries of cures for toothache and spiritual anxiety are predominantly the monks of

[75] For a full description of the scriptural and hagiographical tropes that pattern Margaret's representation in the *Vita*, see Chapter 2.
[76] Benedica Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), pp. 172–3. Ward uses St Anselm as her example and contrasts the pattern of Christ-like sanctity seen in *vitae* with more idiosyncratic sanctity seen in *miracula*.
[77] Records show that Margaret's sark was thought to aid childbirth and was used by Scottish queens, and was called for in the birth of James III in 1451 and James V in 1512. Former: *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. by John Stuart, George Burnett et al., 23 vols (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House 1878–1908), vol. 5, p. 447. Latter: *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland iv: 1507–13*, ed. by Sir James Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 334.

Dunfermline.[78] In fact, of those that Margaret heals, nine are monks. Five of these are explicitly identified as monks of Dunfermline.[79]

Dunfermline serves as a focal point for the *Miracula* in a way that it does not for the *Vita*. Repeated emphasis is given to the healing power of the physical tomb and the importance of travelling to Dunfermline Abbey itself to ask for healing from the saint. In Miracle 1, an English woman with an arm tumour is visited in a vision by a beautiful woman who tells her that the only way for her to be healed is to make a pilgrimage to Margaret's tomb, and she should 'iter [s]uum sine mora ad Scociam dirige' ('direct [her] way to Scotland without delay').[80] The physical location of Margaret's tomb in Dunfermline is essential to the intercessory and healing powers of Margaret as saint, and it emphasises the importance of the abbey site at which this *Miracula* was certainly copied and most probably composed. Likewise, Miracle 12 describes a girl driven mad by magic whose parents go on a long journey 'loca sancta uisitantes' ('visiting the holy places') in England, and can only find a cure for their daughter's madness at Margaret's tomb in Dunfermline.[81] Thus, comparison between Dunfermline and other English sites of pilgrimage emphasises the primacy of Scotland in general, and Dunfermline in particular, as a place under God's protection.

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[78] The spread of ailments cured by Margaret is: Paralysis and strokes, 11; Other (dropsy, elephantitis, fever, etc.), 10; Insanity or possession, 6; Dumbness, 4; Swellings, 4; Toothache, 3; Crises of faith, 3; Swallowing lizards, 2; Blindness, 2. See Bartlett, *Miracula*, p. xxxix.

[79] Miracle 10: a monk called Reginald described as 'frater eiusdem ecclesie' ('[a] brother of the same church [i.e. Dunfermline]') is cured of toothache, pp. 94–7; Miracle 28: a monk named Adam is tempted to return to the world and is visited in a dream by his father and warned against 'despecta tua professione quam Deo fecisti et famule sue sancte Margarite regine' ('disregarding the profession [he] made to God and his handmaid, St Margaret the queen'), pp. 122–5; Miracle 31: Gregory, prior of Dunfermline, is cured of a carbuncle, pp. 126–9; Miracle 34: a novice monk called Adam is cured of the 'falling sickness' when his prior, the prior of Dunfermline, instructs him to seek help at Margaret's tomb, pp. 130–3; Miracle 36: Margaret protects a monk identified as 'suorum monachorum' ('[one] of her monks') from two devilish wild dogs, pp. 132–5.

[80] pp. 74–5.

[81] pp. 100–1.

In addition to the miracles that promote Margaret's Dunfermline tomb as a holy site, there are further miracles that show the healing powers of the physical object of Margaret's tomb. Miracle 9 tells of a woman named Emma whose toothache is cured through the application of the dust from Margaret's tomb to the infected area.[82] Likewise, in Miracle 21, a boy who suffered from elephantiasis for seven years is cured by drinking water mixed with the dust from Margaret's tomb.[83] These accounts dramatise the essentiality of both abbey and tomb to Margaret's efficacy as healing and protective saint. The dust of the tomb, potentially both stone fragments of the monument and the earth of Scotland itself, is a powerful symbol of the multivalent nexus of power behind Margaret as healing saint. God, saint, tomb, abbey and land are bound together in this act of healing, emphasising the potency of Dunfermline as the location of Margaret's power. But this also has further political implications.

It is unsurprising that the monks of Dunfermline would seek to promote their own religious house as one that could offer healing to pilgrims. However, Dunfermline Abbey was not only a religious site but also served as a Scottish royal mausoleum. Pilgrimage to Margaret's shrine at Dunfermline therefore also served to honour and endorse Scottish sovereignty. Abner Cohen, discussing the ritualisation of the tombs of the communist 'saints' Lenin and Mao Zedong, suggests that the burial-place of a ruler holds particularly potent political and ideological power:

> This manipulation of dead corpses to serve as dominant political symbols is successful, not for purely rational considerations. For if that were the case, a memorial picture or statue, or any monument to the dead, rather than a decaying corpse, would have been sufficient. But the sight of the corpse by the masses of visitors, amidst strictly observed silence and solemnity, the association of the mausoleum with supreme state power, the guards of honour, reverence and admiration for the deceased, all these combine significantly with the enigmatic problem of life and death to conjure up in the minds of the pilgrims a complex

[82] pp. 92–5.
[83] pp. 116–17.

> psychic experience which can add further to what political philosophers call 'political obligation'.[84]

Though twentieth-century political mausoleums are much removed from Scottish medieval sites, Cohen's analysis presents a striking and deeply suggestive analogue with Margaret's burial place at Dunfermline. By the time the Dunfermline *Miracula* was composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, Dunfermline also held the tombs of Malcolm III, three of his and Margaret's sons (Edgar, Alexander I and David I), David's son Malcolm IV, and Alexander III. It would also later house the body of Robert the Bruce, though his heart was buried at Melrose Abbey.[85] As well as being a religious house, Dunfermline Abbey was synonymous with royal power (if not 'supreme state power'), and as such religious pilgrimage to Margaret's tomb would also take pilgrims along a route that emphasised the political power of the Scottish royal family. Cohen's use of the word 'pilgrims' to describe those who visited the tombs of Lenin and Mao makes an equivalence between devotion to the political and to the religious. As queen of Scotland, Margaret herself combines the two, and those who come on pilgrimage to the queen-saint are also, by default, making pilgrimage to this Scottish royal mausoleum. Although the communist states ruled over by Lenin and Mao were very different indeed from eleventh-century Scotland, the 'political obligation' inspired by pilgrimage to the rulers' tombs is the same, and pilgrimage to Dunfermline served to underline – especially to pilgrims from England – the power, dignity and influence of the Scottish royal line.

The Margaret of the *Miracula* does not just provide political support to Dunfermline. She repeatedly lends help, healing and spiritual guidance to the abbey monks. As well as curing some minor physical ailments, in Miracle 28 Margaret gives spiritual guidance to a monk who is

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[84] Abner Cohen, 'Political Symbolism', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 8 (1979), 87–113, (pp. 93–4). The 'political obligation' that Cohen loosely refers to is a political-philosophical theory defined thus: 'To have a political obligation is to have a moral duty to obey the laws of one's country or state', *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* online < http://plato.stanford.edu/> accessed 19.11.15.
[85] G.W.S Barrow, 'Robert I', *ODNB*, accessed 16.08.16.

tempted to return to the world. In this miracle, the monk is visited by the image of his dead father who beats him so severely that he begins to lose consciousness and is bleeding profusely, and then reminds him of 'professione quam Deo fecisti et famule sue sancte Margarite regine'.[86] The choice of the masculine 'famule' for 'handmaid' rather than the more usual 'ancilla' is particularly striking here, given that Margaret's parallelism with the Virgin Mary is highlighted elsewhere in the *Miracula*. Bartlett translates it as 'handmaid', but the *DMLBS* lists only the femine form 'famula' and for the second definition gives '(w. *Christi* or similar) woman devoted to religion, usu. nun.' Margaret thus appears here as one professed to her own religious house; the choice in this instance of the unusual masculine 'famule' moreover serves to link Margaret even more closely with her own monks. As I will discuss more fully below, Margaret appears elsewhere in the *Miracula* dressed and tonsured as a monk. Here, as there, Margaret is represented as one sworn to the religious house she herself founded. Although this miracle does not explicitly identify the monk as a member of the Dunfermline community, this seems very likely given both the circumstances of the compilation and the monk's profession to Margaret herself. A similar pattern is repeated in Miracle 37 in which Margaret appears to the nurse of one of her monks. Here she warns that the monk is thinking of giving up his vows, but that she will welcome him back if he turns from his 'praua uolunt[as]' ('wicked decision').[87] The monk, hearing the tale of this vision, immediately does, and credits this to 'sanct[a] Margarit[a] su[us] infirmitatis consultri[x]' ('St Margaret, his counsellor in his weakness').[88]

This is not the first time that Margaret appears in this manuscript as a counsellor, and specifically one who gives spiritual guidance: as discussed above, Margaret in the *Vita* gives Malcolm religious and legal counsel and does so in a typically queenly capacity, advising piety, justice and

[86] 'the profession you made to God and his handmaid, St Margaret the queen', pp. 124–5.
[87] pp. 134–5.
[88] pp. 134–5.

adherence to orthodox religious practice. Likewise Margaret as 'consultri[x]' is specifically a *female* counsellor, and one who, like the Virgin Mary, provides maternal support and comfort in times of religious difficulty. These two miracles show Margaret's especial protection of and devotion to Dunfermline Abbey, and also promote the monks outside their own foundation, by showing them to be firm in faith under the aegis of their saintly protector and patroness, St Margaret.

Of particular interest in these miracles is the issue of violence. In Miracle 28 a doubting monk is violently beaten, which ultimately restores his faith.[89] In Miracle 36, Margaret appears to one of the monks of Dunfermline in a vision in which she beats away a pair of devilish-looking dogs:

> Erat quidam monachus in lecto suo nocte quadam quiescens, cui talis apparuit uisio. Vidit ipse duos canes, ingentes, horridos et hispidos, dormitorium intrare, quorum unus erat ruffus, alter uero nigerrimus. Ruffus autem, exiliens ipsumque strangulare cupiens, per guttur cepit et, ecce, adiutrix suorum propicia, sancta Margarita, uirgam manu tenens, ambos canes eadem uirga uerberando a dormitorio fugauit. Qua recendente, intrauerunt secundo predicti canes. Quibus iterum a sancta regina fugatis, recessit ipsa. Tertio sisquidem eisdem canibus dormitorum intrantibus, sanctissima Margarita, ut sibi uidebatur irata, minata est ut, si aliqui alicui suorum monachorum inquietudinem aliquam inferre presumerent, sic illos uinculis strictos castigaret, ne alicui nocere ualerent de cetero. Monachus uero euigilans, que uiderat fratribus enarrauit.[90]

In addition to the hellish imagery of violence and the colours of black and red, these dogs serve to emblematise the threat of the outside world to the monk since dogs appear in the Book of Revelation identified with those who worship wrongly or who undertake mistaken devotion to

[89] pp. 122–5.

[90] 'There was a monk, resting one night in his bed, who witnessed the following vision. He saw two huge wild and shaggy dogs enter the dormitory, one red, the other jet-black. The red one sprang up and seized him by the throat, desiring to strangle him, and behold, the gracious helper of her own, saint Margaret, carrying a staff in her hands, drove both dogs from the dormitory by beating them with that staff. When she went away, the dogs entered for a second time. They were again driven off by the holy queen, who then departed. When those dogs entered the dormitory for a third time, the most holy Margaret, who seemed to be angry, threatened that if anyone dared to cause any distress to any of her monks, she would punish them with such tight bonds that they would not be able to harm anyone ever again. The monk woke up and told the brethren what he had seen', pp. 132–5.

worldly forces.[91] Whereas in the aforementioned two miracles Margaret protects the spiritual resolve of the monks through appeal to the monks' parents, here the threat to monastic devotion is manifested through the figures of the savage black and red dogs. Just as with the monk in Miracle 28, part of the prescribed cure is a beating: 'uirgam manu tenens, ambos canes eadem uirga uerberando a dormitorio fugauit'.[92] As we shall see, this staff features frequently in Margaret's healing miracles, but here it is used defensively to fight off the dogs of worldliness and protect the monks professed to her house. That Margaret fights off the dogs three times dramatises the ongoing nature of her protection. This is underscored when the scene ends with her emphatic declaration that 'si aliqui alicui suorum monachorum inquietudinem aliquam inferre presumerent, sic illos uinculis strictos castigaret, ne alicui nocere ualerent de cetero'.[93] Through these miracles, the monks not only construct Margaret as a protector of her own establishment, but themselves as religiously unassailable. Her spiritual guidance ensures their correct religious practice.

In the same way that Margaret visits the monks of Dunfermline with visions of their parents, so does she appear in some of her healing miracles in a quasi-parental capacity. Margaret's parenting is very much in the model set out by her *Vita*. Both the 'Cotton' and 'Dunfermline' *Vitae* preserve the detail that Margaret raised her children according to the scriptural message that 'qui parcit virge filium suum odibilem facit'.[94] The result of this was that '[q]uo religioso matris

[91] 'Foris canes, et venefici, et impudici, et homicidae, et idolis servientes, et omnis qui amat et facit mendacium' ('Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and unchaste, and murderers, and servers of idols, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie'), Revelation 22:15, DR-LV Bible. All subsequent references are to this version.
[92] 'carrying a staff in her hands, [St Margaret] drove both dogs from the dormitory by beating them with that staff', pp. 132–3.
[93] '[I]f anyone dared to cause any distress to any of her monks, she would punish them with such tight bonds that they would not be able to harm anyone ever again', pp. 134–5.
[94] '[W]ho spares the rod makes his son unlikeable', p. 182. Though the 'Cotton' Vita gives '[qui] parcit virgæ odit filium', p. 240 ('he who spares the rod hates the child').

studio, multos qui provectiores etate fuerant, morum honestate infants transcendebant'.[95] Margaret also turns the rod on her spiritual children – those who come to Dunfermline looking for healing and guidance – as both corrective and cure.

In Miracle 2 Margaret cures a girl who cannot walk by threatening her, and the cure is explicitly formulated in terms of a fear of physical threat:

> Adueniens in hunc modum, regina uenerabilis oculos suos omni gemma splendidiores aduersum contractam erexit et baculum quem baiulabat in manu uelud minando subleuauit et adiungens dixit, 'Surge citissime, tibi dico, surge,' et admouens baculum uelud percussura tetigit eius latus sinistrum. Puella uero facta nimis de percussione eius timida et de comminacione ne amplius lederetur magis sollicita, quod per nouem annos in usu non habuit contra spem procedure temptauit.[96]

However, as well as being a strict parent dispensing discipline, Margaret here is also beautiful and regal. Her eyes are like 'gemma' ('jewel[s]') and the awe and terror inspired by her simultaneously beautiful and frightening appearance in this miracle recalls the terrifying beauty of the spouse in the Song of Solomon.[97] This miracle is furthermore analogous to the account at John 5: 8–9 where Christ commands a paralysed man to pick up his bed and walk.[98] Margaret's stern words enable the girl to stand and walk, and the threat of the stick parallels the description of Margaret's treatment of her children described in both versions of the *Vita* and identified with scripturally-sanctioned parental discipline. This is, in fact, a very rare method of saintly healing and seems to be particular to Margaret herself.[99] As such, she appears as a severe but loving

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[95] 'Through this religious zeal of the mother, the children transcended by their worthy character many who were more advanced in age', p. 182.
[96] 'The venerable queen, appearing in this way, lifted her eyes, more splendid than any jewel, towards the crippled girl and raised the staff she was carrying in her hand as if in threat. Then she said, 'Get up at once, I tell you, get up!', and, advancing the staff as if about to hit her, she touched her left side. The girl was very frightened by the blow and worried because of the threats that she might be harmed more, so she attempted, without much hope, to walk, a thing she had not been able to do for nine years', pp. 76–7.
[97] 'SPONSUS. Pulchra es, amica mea; suavis, et decora sicut Jerusalem; terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata' ('Thou art beautiful, O my love, sweet and comely as Jerusalem: terrible as an army set in array'), Canticles 6:3
[98] John 5: 8–9.
[99] I am grateful to Ruth Salter at the University of Reading for discussing this with me.

mother, providing a firm guiding hand (or rod) to the monks and the pilgrims under her care as she once did to the children that she raised, two of whom – Matilda and David – went on to become similarly saintly examples.

These general trends characterise the *Miracula*'s representation of Margaret as saint. The three unusual miracles noted above (5, 13 and 24) offer other aspects of her saintliness. In the first of these, Miracle 5, Margaret cures a man called Mutinus of muteness. Mutinus was mute for thirty-two years after having been struck dumb as a five-year-old child by three demons in female form who threw an apple into his mouth when he was asleep in an orchard. Like many other pilgrims who are healed by Margaret, Mutinus 'terras plurimas perambulando, monasteria diuersorum sanctorum uisitando, sperans per eorum merita amissam recuperare loquelam'.[100] Mutinus arrives at Margaret's tomb to be healed on the feast day of her translation (June 19th).[101] Here the relationship between good and bad eating becomes very complex. Mutinus was struck mute by being forced to swallow an apple, and he arrives at Margaret's tomb on the feast-day of a saint whose life was characterised and whose death was hastened by extreme fasting. It is worth noting at this point the biblical significance of the apple. Just like the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the Book of Genesis, the wrongful eating occasioned by wicked women is later undone by a holy and virtuous one. One who herself eschewed food as an expression of her piety. Margaret thus appears as analogue to the Virgin Mary, who reverses the sin of Eve. Margaret cures Mutinus, who has come to be known by the name that describes his condition, by removing the apple and touching him on the mouth, face and throat:

[100] 'wandered through many lands, visiting the monasteries of various saints, hoping through their merits to recover the power of speech he had lost', pp. 82–3.
[101] Feast date from Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 133.

> Impositaque manu eius gutturi suo, pomum quo loquele modum antiquitus amiserat extrahendo, genas et os et que gutturi sunt proxima sanando molliter palpat.[102]

Thus, the apple that was first thrown into his throat by one of three wicked women is removed by one saintly woman. This is done, furthermore, within the church space of Margaret's tomb, from where Mutinus then goes on to participate in the mass. Miracles involving the cure of muteness are already unusual: twelfth-century miracles in which muteness is cured constitute roughly five percent of all healing miracles.[103] The restoration of speech and – in particular – holy speech seems particularly pertinent to Margaret given her own reputation for both holy and persuasive speech. In her *Vita* Margaret is praised for the 'eloquentie facunditatem iocundam' ('pleasant eloquence of her speech').[104] Margaret reportedly had the habit of repeating the Matins of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross and the Virgin Mary daily, and then on holy days proceeding to recite the Office of the Dead and then the entire psalter.[105] Her restoration of speech and Mutinus' immediate taking of mass thus recalls the holy speech in her *Vita*.

Miracle 13 has been compared by Catherine Keene to a Celtic folktale.[106] In this miracle, a young girl sees a demon in the shape of her little brother who had died. When she refuses to kiss him, he pushes her down and she becomes possessed.[107] In her article, Keene suggests that the demon in the shape of the little brother is reminiscent of the Celtic Otherworld, and the appearance of Margaret in a subsequent vision to the mother is typical of a 'Celtic' dream-vision.[108] While the demon brother does share some similarity with creatures from the 'Otherworld' or the fairy

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[102] 'Placing her hand on his throat, she extracted the apple by which he had long ago lost the power of speech, and healed him by lightly touching his cheeks, his mouth and the part nearest to the throat', p. 84–5.
[103] Ruth Salter, 'Only Half Healed: The Unusual Accounts of the Deaf and Mute in Twelfth-Century English Hagiography', *The Reading Medievalist: A Postgraduate Journal*, 2 (2014), 85–108, (p. 83).
[104] p. 171.
[105] pp. 205–6.
[106] Catherine Keene, 'Envisioning a Saint: Visions in the Miracles of Saint Margaret of Scotland', in *Reading Memory and Identity in the Texts of Medieval European Holy Women*, ed. by Margaret Cotter-Lynch and Brad Herzog (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2012), pp. 57–80, (p. 61).
[107] pp. 102–3.
[108] Keene, 'Envisioning a Saint', p. 60–1.

world of early romance, to designate this as 'Celtic' seems to be too broad and vague a term to be helpful.[109] The dream-vision, too, is not particular to any kind of literature, but common across many cultures and in many different texts from Classical epic to many other saints' lives and miracles.[110] It might be more useful to consider the ways in which tropes from secular literature are synthesised with those of hagiography so that the uncanny brother reframes tropes of the Other/fairy world into the devils or demons of religious texts. This mix of secular and religious tropes bespeaks how this collection of miracles appeals both to local demand for a saint who is shown to heal and protect from threats local people feared and to the wider political demand for a religiously orthodox and papally-sanctioned saint.

In this miracle, we also return to the motifs of beating as a mode of healing and correct and pious speech. When the girl's demon cannot be expelled and she refuses to say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed of her own free will, the father takes up a rod and threatens to beat the girl if she does not comply: '[t]unc ille uirgam arripuit et minando corripuit dicens, '[n]isi post me dixeris que iubeo, flagellis te affligam."[111] It is only after this that Margaret appears to the girl herself in a dream and instructs her: '[s]urge, uade ad locum ubi ossa mea requieuerunt, ibi enim receptura es sanitatem'.[112] Margaret instructs the girl to travel to the tomb at Dunfermline, and only here can she be finally be healed. This miracle encompasses most of the main tropes that characterise

[109] I am grateful to Aisling Byrne at the University of Reading for discussing this with me (Private correspondence 06.11.2015). Byrne also discusses this in her monograph. She writes 'All too often, 'Celtic' tends to serve as a catch-all term for those things in medieval English texts that are supernatural and intractable, like otherworld spaces, and the depth of the disciplinary divide between Celtic studies and English studies tends to discourage many from probing any further', *Otherworlds: Fantasy and History in Medieval Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 9.

[110] There is also a distictive Scottish tradition of dream-vision literature. Kylie Murray has identified two paradigmatic strands of this: political and anti-amatory. The vision of Margaret before the Battle of Largs, discussed below, fits well within the former, but this particular dream-vision of Margaret appears to have more to do with emphasising Margaret's distintctive identity and queenly power than either of these trends. Kylie Murray, 'Dream and Vision in Scotland, c.1375–1500' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2012), p. 3.

[111] 'Then he snatched up a rod and, threatening her, he chastised her saying, "Unless you say what I order you to after me, I will beat you"', pp. 102–3.

[112] 'Arise, go to the place where my bones rested, for there you will receive healing', pp. 104–5.

Margaret's miracles: she appears in a vision; cure is wholly or partially given out through beating or the threat of beating; correct and pious speech is essential; travel to her tomb is revealed to be essential after cure in other locations is ineffective. Once again, the *Miracula* asserts the primacy of Margaret's tomb and Dunfermline Abbey and Margaret appears as a merciful and healing mother. She is even addressed by the girl as '[m]ater sanctissima' ('most holy mother'), an appellation that recalls the Virgin Mary.[113] The girl then goes on to a religious life as a nun in the house of Elcho, brought under God and St Margaret's protection.[114] Unlike the *Vita*, which shows Margaret eradicating idiosyncratic local Scottish practices, the *Miracula* shows Margaret as an integrated part of lay local culture, using her papally-sanctioned power to combat the threats that might share more in common with the threats of the Celtic Otherworld and lay superstition than biblical evils or real-world ailments.

The third miracle, Miracle 24, makes rather uncomfortable reading for the modern reader and initially seems incongruous with the saint who seems by every report to have been an influential and strong-minded woman who inspired the same qualities in her daughter. It relates the story of a carpenter called William who is 'a morte debita per beatam Margaritam liberato' after he is 'libidinis frena non bene retentans' and commits rape.[115] Having been ordered to undergo a trial by ordeal and having been burned by a hot iron and had his hand sealed, William then goes to pray at the tomb of St Margaret and begs her for help. Margaret appears to him while he sleeps, 'precipiens ut manum porrigeret. Qua porrecta, predicta regina sufflauit in ea. Dolore itaque

[113] pp. 104–5.
[114] pp. 104–5. Elcho was a house of Cistercian nuns that appears to have been a subsidiary of Dunfermline Abbey. It was founded by David Lindsay I (*d.*1241) and an undated charter mentions Lindsay's obligation to pay Dunfermline Abbey half a stone of wax 'as a quitclaim of that parcel of land in which the monastery of Elcho is situated (*Dunf. Reg.*, no. 191). Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London: Longman, 1976), p. 146.
[115] 'freed by St Margaret from the death that was his due'; 'unable to bridle his lust', pp. 118–19.

statim recedente, nullam omnino sensit ille lesionem'.[116] He is then acquitted of his crime and, 'Deo et sancte Margarite eius liberatrice gratias agens terram sanctam deuotus adiuit'.[117] Margaret's mercy transforms a man who was not able to rule his body into one who, through his body, performs his devotion to God and St Margaret through a pilgrimage. This is analogous also to stories of the Virgin Mary saving criminals from execution at the last minute after appeals for mercy.[118] So, in both the typical mould of a virtuous queen and of the Virgin Mary, Margaret acts as intercessor and dispenser of mercy. Certainly, this miracle serves to illustrate that any sinner or criminal can be saved through appeal to Margaret, but William is nonetheless striking as the only criminal that Margaret is recorded to have saved from execution in her capacity as saint.[119]

In an equally uncomfortable contrast for the modern reader, this pardoned rapist appears in the miracle collection alongside a miracle in which female sexuality is heavily censured. In Miracle 33 a servant woman is forced to seek healing from Margaret after she engages in an affair with a man whose father marries him to a woman of his own social class. In this miracle, the woman remains passive throughout and yet is the single object of blame despite the fact that the man is an equal partner in the affair: the man 'ancillam domus paterne quamplurimum diligebat' and

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116 'commanding him to stretch out his hand and, when he did this, the queen blew on it. The pain immediately went away and he felt no injury at all', pp. 118–19.

117 'giving thanks to God and St Margaret, his liberator, he went piously to the Holy Land', pp. 118–19.

118 These stories are fairly common. For example, Etienne de Borbon relates a criminal saved from hanging by the mercy of the Virgin Mary. Fordham Universiy Medieval Sourcebook Online: Tales of the Virgin <https://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/tales-virgin.asp> accessed 28.09.16.

119 The explanation of William's crime rests on the now-outdated view of rape as simply an undesirable side-effect of the male biological urge. This was a common belief in the Middle Ages. Corinne Saunders examines in depth the difficulties inherent in dealing with medieval literary instances of rape from a modern perspective. Saunders argues that '[t]o explore past narratives of rape in terms of contemporary thought, to read history against the grain, by reclassifying or reinterpreting instances of sexual force, is to isolate and draw attention to the repeated 'psychological and political oppression of women', and to effect a kind of feminist excavation of the past', and warns against the pigeonholing of medieval society as simply 'misogynist', *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), p. 13. For further discussion on rape across medieval literature see: *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, ed. by C. Rose and E. Robinson (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Kathryn Gradval, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

even though his father compels him to marry someone else, after his father dies, 'iuuenis ille, despecta propria uxore, predicte ancille furtiue adherebat'.[120] It is nonetheless to the servant not to the son that the ghost of the father appears and 'manu sinistra iniecta per guttur arcius stringendo cepit, dexteraque caput ipsius circumquaque durissime uerberauit'.[121] The dead father appears in a role analogous to Margaret herself, as a parent administering a corrective beating. However, instead of his son, the victim of this beating is the servant woman. Furthermore, this assault is not healing. It causes the woman to grow hideous tumours that make her deaf, mute and blind until Margaret hears the prayers in her heart and comes to heal her with the words 'O misera, peccatis tuis exigentibus talia pateris infortunia'.[122] The sin belongs to the woman alone, and as with William the rapist in Miracle 24, her sins are inscribed on her body and Margaret's aid must be sought to remove them. But while William's burned hand is a sign of secular justice in action, the boils and tumours visited on the woman in Miracle 33 are presented as a spiritual justice. They are furthermore suggestive of leprosy. Throughout the Middle Ages, leprosy was to an extent equated with syphilis and considered to be an externalisation of sexual sin.[123] While both disease and a branded hand mark sexual sin on the body, and act as spur to repentance and healing at Margaret's tomb, the equivalence drawn between male rapist and lower-class female lover is nonetheless very pointed. Margaret appears to the rapist condemned to death without any words of censure; she criticises the behaviour of the servant and tells her that both the beating and the disease she has suffered are her due. It would be misleading to suggest that this

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120 'was deeply in love with a servant from his father's house'; 'disdaining his own wife, became involved with the servant in secret', pp. 128–9.

121 'grabbed her around the throat with his left hand, squeezing it tightly, while he beat her fiercely about the head with his right hand', pp. 128–9.

122 'Wretched woman, you are suffering this misfortune on account of your sins', pp. 130–1.

123 p. 55. Bryony Lee Grigsby further argues that leprosy was more generally associated with sin and divine punishment and was only equated with sex insofar as lepers were supposedly afflicted with 'uncontrolled sexual desire' as a side-effect, *Pestilence in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 57. This also offers an intriguing analogue with Robert Henryson's fifteenth-century 'Testament of Cresseid', in which Cresseid is afflicted with leprosy, apparently on account of her sexual immorality. See, *Robert Henryson: The Complete Works*, ed. by David J. Parkinson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2010).

reflects any kind of popular perception of Margaret as more critical of women or particularly favourable to men. Rather, it reflects the circumstances of compilation and copying: texts copied and potentially composed within monastic settings tended to present a more negative image of women or promote antifeminist messages, warning against the danger of sexual temptation posed by women.[124]

Overall, in these most distinctive of Margaret's miracles, the image we get of Margaret is of a stern and loving mother not unlike the mother represented in the *Vita*. Margaret appears frequently in an unusually high number of visions and is particularly defensive of both the monks of Dunfermline and the abbey itself. That she appears to those she heals suggests that her individual identity rather than simply her role as saint was important to the author of the *Miracula*.[125]

There are also miracles in the collection which are taken on by later histories, most notably Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*. These are Miracle 6, which includes the events associated with the translation of Margaret's relics, and Miracle 7, which describes Margaret's defeat of the King of Norway at the Battle of Largs in 1263. The translation, Miracle 6, relates three miracles in one, all occasioned by Margaret's translation. At the time the *Miracula* was composed, there appear to have been two translation stories: the 1250 translation story recounted by Fordun and later embellished by Bower, and this one which recounts the earlier translation, in 1180. This translation story is very different from the description of Margaret's later translation in Bower's

[124] Elizabeth Fowler explains that '[m]isogyny is integral to clerical antifeminism, which grew out of the patriarchal gender arrangements of the medieval church. Yet the avowed cultural function of clerical antifeminism in the late Middle Ages was perhaps not so much the oppression of women (thought it served that function effectively) as the consolidation of an estate of men who were to live without legitimate sexual ties to women', *Literary Character: The Human Figure in Early English Writing* (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 141. This seems likely the kind of casual clerical antifeminism present throughout the Dunfermline *Miracula*, which were produced and collated among a community of celibate men.

[125] Keene, 'Envisioning a Saint', p. 58.

Scotichronicon in which Margaret's body refuses to be moved until Malcolm's body is treated with the same honour.[126] In the *Miracula*, the translation itself receives relatively little attention, and the focus is instead on the miracles that Margaret's sanctity makes possible:

> Vbi, ad reuelanda tam precellentis regine merita, in eadem nocte triplicata sunt miracula: muta loquitur, cecus illuminatur, puelle brachium aridum et cancri infirmitate comesum ad pristinam reformatur sanitatem.[127]

In this earlier translation, the focus is shifted from Malcom and Margaret as divinely ordained king and queen to Margaret as miracle worker.[128] The compiler of the thirteenth-century *Miracula* seems to have had less interest in promoting Malcolm.

The Battle of Largs episode is included in the middle of the *Miracula*, but no record is made of the miraculous events recounted by Bower and Fordun surrounding the 1250 translation. Whether this was because the accompanying *Vita* had already been expanded to present Malcolm as the ideal worldly king in partnership with Margaret as saintly queen, or because the monks were only interested in promoting the cult of St Margaret in the *Miracula*, the significance is that here Margaret acts largely alone. As saint rather than queen, she has no need of Malcolm's support or approval to be powerful.

In Miracle 7, Margaret protects the Scots and Scotland from a Norwegian invasion. In this miracle a knight named John of Wemyss has a vision of Margaret in which she appears with her husband and sons dressed for battle and tells him she is leading them out to protect Scotland

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126 See Chapter 5, p. 247.

127 'On this night, in order to reveal the merits of such a distinguished queen, three miracles occurred: a deaf woman spoke, a blind man was given sight and the arm of a girl which had been dried up and consumed by a cancerous disease was restored to its original health,' pp. 84–5.

128 There were two translations of Margaret's remains: the first in 1180, the translation recorded here in the *Miracula*, in which Margaret's body was moved to a richly decorated reliquary in Dunfermline Abbey church; the second in 1250 was recorded in Fordun and expanded by Bower, in which Margaret's remains were moved to a different location in the church and Malcolm's remains were reportedly moved as well, Bartlett, *Miracula*, p. xlii.

from the Norwegians.[129] Although John of Wemyss falls asleep in an unidentified location and the battle takes place at Largs, Dunfermline church is still the focal point of the miracle and the location of the vision as Wemyss '[v]idebatur namque sibi se in ostio ecclesie Dunfermelensis consistere'.[130] Once again, a vision of Margaret is characterised by both an acknowledgement of her beauty and a feeling of fear: '[e]x qua uisione miles non modice extitit perterritus, sed cum de pulchritudine domine animatus'.[131] At this point, Wemyss asks the beautiful woman in the vision to identify herself and the armoured knights that accompany her, to which she says:

> Ego sum Margarita, Scotorum regina. Miles uero iste quem in manu duco meus erat maritus, nomine rex Malcolmus. Tres uero sequentes tres filii mei sunt et reges mecum in hac ecclesia iacentes.[132]

Margaret identifies herself by name, establishing the authenticity of the vision.[133] The Margaret of the *Miracula* also identifies herself as queen of Scots with the present 'sum' whereas she designates Malcolm a past king of Scots with the past form – 'erat'. Margaret as saint continues to act as queen of Scotland, speaking for both husband and sons and leading them by the hand. This is a very powerful image of Margaret's authority and importance, and one that is not significantly altered by Bower in his far more king-centric *Scotichronicon*. This statement

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[129] This provides yet another link to the specific place and foundation over which Margaret was patron and in which this collection seems to have been compiled. Bartlett notes that Wemyss is in Fife and the church was appropriated to Dunfermline Abbey (p. 87, fn 16). There is further evidence of a family connection that continued over time. In the early fourteenth century (*c.*1319) Sir Michael Wemyss was named as one of the arbiters on the side of Dunfermline Abbey in a dispute between the monks of Dunfermline and the tenants of Leslie as to their respective borders. However, when the arbiters met in 1319–20 at Newbattle, Michael Wemyss was not among them, perhaps because he had died by that date. Sir James Balfour Paul, *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 8 (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1911), p. 478.

[130] 'seemed to be standing in the doorway of the church of Dunfermline', pp. 88–9.

[131] 'The knight was not a little frightened by this vision but was given spirit by the lady's beauty', pp. 88–9; Canticles 6:3.

[132] 'I am Margaret, queen of Scots. This knight I am leading by the hand was my husband, king Malcolm by name. The three following are my three sons, kings who lie with me in this church,' pp. 88–9. Bower has Margaret say 'Ego sum Margarita, *olim* Scotorum regina' ('I am Margaret, *formerly* queen of Scots' [emphasis mine]) vol. 5, p. 337; Bower, invested in representing the progression of history shows Margaret as a *past* queen, but in the *Miracula* she is still queen after her death, and still represents herself as such.

[133] Keene suggests that the author of the *Miracula* was aware of the Macrobian hierarchy of dreams and was careful to show Margaret authenticating dreams as distinct from waking visions, which were considered more reliable and authoritative than dreams; Keene, 'Envisioning a Saint', p. 69.

furthermore advertises Dunfermline as a royal mausoleum – a detail excised from Bower's version – by having Margaret tell Wemyss that they are all buried there, at the location of the vision. Even though the battle takes place at Largs, Dunfermline remains at the centre of Scottish royal power and the central location of the miracle. It is also at this point that Margaret speaks to confirm the hereditary rights of her family, situating them within both royal responsibility and her own sanctity:

> Cui sancta regina: 'Cum istis ad Largys regnum defensura propero, victoriam actura de tiranno qui regnum meum suo nititur subiugare dominio. Nam michi hoc regnum a Deo accepi commendatum et heredibus meis inperpetuum.'[134]

Here, Margaret inhabits both the typical king-role of military protector and the role of patron saint. It is unsurprising that this miracle in particular was attractive to Bower when he was writing his *Scotichronicon*, since it so clearly articulates God's protection of the Scottish nation and approval of the Scottish royal line. Within the context of the Dunfermline manuscript, it also forms a suggestive link with the regnal list, which gives a name to those whom Margaret's speech indicates are the heirs to whom God has entrusted her kingdom. While I would hesitate to ascribe this to an aim as specific as the rights of unction, as Taylor does, it does nonetheless suggest an investment in shoring up the Scottish royal line in general.[135] Given the *Miracula*'s potential initial compilation in the mid-thirteenth century when Scottish succession was in doubt during the reign of Alexander III, who had no male heir, Margaret's appearance defending the Scottish nation and the sanctity of the royal line from a foreign king speaks powerfully of a need to defend Scottish royal and political independence in the years running up to the Wars of Independence. Certainly, to separate Margaret's queenship and political significance from her sanctity and devotional importance would be to misunderstand the way in which they are mutually dependent. Margaret is an ideal queen because she is like a saint, and a saint because of

[134] "I am hurrying with them to Largs,' said the holy queen, 'to bring victory over that tyrant who is attempting to subject my kingdom to his power. For I have accepted this kingdom from God, and it is entrusted to me and my heirs forever', pp. 88–9.
[135] Taylor, 'Historical Writing', p. 249.

her exemplary queenship. Thus the very same material has a dual significance. The Battle of Largs miracle does not just provide an instance of Margaret's saintly intercession in insolation; in both the Dunfermline manuscript and the *Scotichronicon*, it is a politically-motivated assertion of sovereign right.

In the *Miracula*, this particular miracle appears after Margaret's translation and before an account of the various miracles Margaret performed on the night of her namesake, St Margaret the Virgin (St Margaret of Antioch). Given the context, it seems particularly significant that Margaret identifies herself by name, Dunfermline Abbey as her burial-place, and her family as the rightful rulers of the Scots. During the Battle of Largs miracle, Margaret claims a separate identity for herself as queen-saint, and the subsequent miracle account takes pains to separate Margaret from St Margaret the Virgin, saying:

> Concurrit simplicium multa turba fidelium. Et forsan propter nominis equiuocacionem quamplures assistencium preciosam martirem eodem nomine nuncupatam nostram credebant Margaritam. O quam pia fallacia, que gratia non priuatur. Et ideo qui illus pie credebant, nec a fide sunt cassati nec a sua peticione priuati. Ab illis quippe non est disiunccio, que communiter regnant in celorum palatio. Vnde utrasque Margaritas in essencia quidem dissimiles, in mente tamen et opera credimus esse consimiles.[136]

Even early on in Margaret's cult there appears to have been some conflation between her and St Margaret of Antioch. That this miracle follows one in which Margaret emphatically introduces herself as 'Margarita, Scotorum regina' suggests a need to emphasise a separate identity. Keene has suggested that Margaret's tendency to introduce herself in these miracles by name serves a mnemonic function and reflects the preferences of the local community.[137] While this may hold some truth, these moments of identification also reflect the political need to assert Margaret as

[136] 'A large body of ordinary faithful folk assembled and, perhaps because they had the same name, many of those present believed the precious martyr who bore the same name to be our Margaret. O what devout error, that is not denied grace! The faith of those who devoutly believed that is not made void nor are they denied their petition. These is no disunity between those who reign jointly in the heavenly palace. The two Margarets are dissimilar in essence, but we believe they are alike in mind and work', pp. 90–1.
[137] Keene, 'Envisioning a Saint', p. 57.

queen-saint and mother to the dynasty of rightful kings. If, as noted, miracle-collections provide an opportunity to construct a saint's individual identity outside of the confines of a *vita*, then these miracles not only assert Margaret's identity in the various ways previously discussed but also her identity as distinct from that of St Margaret of Antioch. In this section, however, the strategy is to both distinguish Margaret from and liken her to her namesake, enabling an absorption of some of the other Margaret's significances and devotees. The two St Margarets are 'in mente […] et opera […] consimiles' ('alike in mind and work'). Distinct in identity, yet of the same saintly quality: Margaret of Scotland has all the saintliness of her namesake, but is able to add to that her queenly attributes.

The author of the *Miracula* here exploits similarities between St Margaret of Antioch and St Margaret of Scotland. The *Vita* of St Margaret in both the Cotton and Dunfermline manuscripts begins with the same passage, outlining the meaning of Margaret's name (pearl) and suggesting that this is reflective of spiritual value and purity. A very similar passage opens the *Scottish Legendary* version of the *Life* of St Margaret of Antioch, preserved in the fifteenth-century manuscript Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg II.6.[138] Both Margarets exemplify worldly and spiritual purity and their behaviour fits their names. No reference is made to the fact that Margaret of Scotland was probably named after Margaret of Antioch.[139] Instead, the pearl is given as her namesake. In the Scottish version of her *Vita*, St Margaret of Antioch also behaves

[138] 'quem nomine preferebat, maiori anime pulchritudine vincebat. Margarita namque vocabatur ab hominibus et ipsa in conspectus dei fide atque opera ut preciosa margarita habebatur.' ('[Margaret was one] in whom the beauty which was revealed by her name was surpassed by the greater beauty of her soul. For she was called Margaret by men since she was considered a precious pearl in the sight of God for her faith and works'), Keene, *Vita*, p. 139. 'Qwa wil þe vertu wyt of stanis, / in þe lapidar ma fynd ane is / of þam þat callyt is "margaret, / vertuyse, clere, lytil, and quhyt[...]"' (lines 1–4), *Legends of the Saints: in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by W.M. Metcalfe, 3 vols (in 6 parts), STS, 1st ser., 13, 18, 23, 25, 35, 37 (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood, 1888–96), vol. 2, pp. 47–68. All subsequent references are to this edition. For manuscript details, including dating, see *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press*, ed. by Charles Hardwick and Henry Luard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856), vol. 3, pp. 49–50.
[139] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 16.

in ways similar to St Margaret of Scotland in the Dunfermline manuscript. St Margaret of Antioch acts as a counsellor and religious teacher both to her violent pagan suitor, Olibrius and later to the devil in the form of a dragon. She disputes with them both to defend, first, her right to a life of virginity and her Christian beliefs, and then her trust in God to protect her through the tortures and temptations of both her suitor and the devil.[140] Likewise Margaret of Scotland provides counsel to her husband King Malcolm in the *Vita* and to monks and pilgrims in the *Miracula*. The Malcolm of the *Vita* is a far cry from the violent pagan Olibrius, but Margaret of Scotland nonetheless offers a similar religious corrective in her *Vita*, even if it is far more successfully received than that given by St Margaret of Antioch in the *Legendary*. Finally, both Margarets advocate a disavowal of bodily life in favour of the life of the spirit: St Margaret of Antioch endures gruesome tortures and the destruction of her body through an enduring faith in God and the life of the spirit, and likewise St Margaret of Scotland expresses her ultimate devotion to the life of the spirit through the self-destruction of her own body as a result of extreme fasting.[141] The parallels between them are strong and the *Miracula*-author's assertion that they are similar in essence is convincing. Although the *Miracula*-author stresses that their qualities are alike but their identities are distinct, the monks at Dunfermline might also have benefitted from slippage between St Margaret of Antioch and St Margaret of Scotland in order to boost pilgrimage to their religious foundation. St Margaret of Antioch was one of the most popular of all medieval female saints and has been popular even into the twentieth century, until her feast-

[140] Margaret disputes with Olibrius, who claims that Jesus was killed by the Jews for his crimes (lines 175–204) and then with the Devil in the shape of a dragon (lines 448–82), who claims that Margaret will not be able to overcome him with piety, because he tempted women in the Garden of Eden before, and found them to be weak.

[141] The description of Margaret's bodily torture is particularly graphic and unpleasant, and her body reflects her saintly qualities increasingly as she is tortured: 'Ande quen scho þis [had] sad, belyf /þe tyrand gert hir flesch ryf /with irne camis þat scharp schare, /þat hyre rybbis ware made bare, /& flayne of hyre sawes þe skyn /þat men might se hyr wame with-in. /eftyre sown þe blud fel /als clere of hyre as of a wel /as dois water one wyntir day' (lines 337–45). Margaret's body is so severely mutilated that her ribs and her stomach (or womb) is visible, but her blood is clear as water, a manifest sign of her spiritual cleanness.

day was banned in 1969 and she was declared apocryphal.[142] Certainly, the survival of the *Scottish Legendary* containing St Margaret of Antioch's life demonstrates the popularity of Margaret of Antioch in Scotland at the time Queen Margaret's cult was growing. Encouraging identification between the two would have offered both a spiritually illuminating parallel and a practical benefit to the monks of Dunfermline.

In the Battle of Largs miracle that follows, Margaret is conspicuous for the active role she takes in the masculine world of war. The title of the miracle brings this into even greater prominence, identifying her as the sole agent of this victory rather than her in conjunction with Malcolm and her sons or the unnamed 'rex Scocie' ('king of Scots') who had assembled the real-life army at Largs.[143] Instead, the miracle tells 'De victoria sancte Margarite regine de rege Norwagie anno Domini .mcclxiii'.[144] In the *Miracula*, Margaret is the sole agent of victory and the conduit through which God's protection of the Scottish nation is expressed. Furthermore, coupled with the image of her leading her husband and sons out to fight, this forms another parallel between Margaret and St Helena who appears in Cynewulf's *Elene* as a 'guðcwene' ('battle-queen'), leading the army of her son the Emperor Constantine to a secular and spiritual victory.[145] St Helena often appears as an analogue to Margaret as another saint-queen and mother-saint but this is the only point at which this equivalence manifests in the role of a military leader. In the context of the *Miracula*, it serves to promote Margaret's especial power and authority as queen, and in the wider context of the manuscript as a whole – coupled with a *Vita* that directs a lot of attention onto Malcolm and contains a regnal list of Scottish kings – this helps to promote the Scottish kings as divinely ordained and closely linked with salvation history.

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[142] Melissa M. Coll-Smith, 'The *Scottish Legendary* and Female Saints' Lives in Late Medieval Scotland' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford 2011), p. 197.
[143] pp. 86–7.
[144] '[of] [t]he victory that St Margaret the queen gained over the king of Norway in 1263', pp. 86–7.
[145] *The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus*, ed. by Albert S. Cook (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), line 331. Translation is my own.

Margaret leading her nation's army into battle is one of several instances in the *Miracula* of Margaret's ability to take on both masculine and feminine traits. Riches and Salih suggest that it was typical for 'masculine'-type saints to be those who wielded temporal power in their lifetimes and then to act as heroic defenders after their death.[146] When Margaret takes on this role there are four other kings dressed for battle in the same vision. Keene argues that Margaret is portrayed in terms that highlight not her gender but rather her position as 'royal protectrix'.[147] However, in many of her miracles, Margaret is conspicuously feminine. She is frequently referred to as beautiful and she is described by an unusually high incidence of what Bartlett calls 'female agentive nouns' – *adiutrix* ('she who gives help'), *amatrix* ('she who loves'), *auxiliatrix* ('she who gives aid'), *consolatrix* ('she who comforts'), *consultrix* ('she who provides for'), *genetrix* ('ancestress'), *instigatrix* ('she who urges on', very rare), *liberatrix* ('she who frees'), *mediatrix* ('she who mediates') and *sustentatrix* ('she who gives sustenance', very rare).[148] Presented as a military leader at Largs, she follows the pattern of the most celebrated queen-saint, Helena.

There is one episode in which her gender appears to be ambiguous. In Miracle 2 Margaret appears dressed in monk's clothing and with her hair tonsured like a man:

> capite discoperto et ad modum tonsure clericorum subtus in girum quasi forficibus decenter adequato, lineo induta uestimento quod nominamus superpelicium[.][149]

It was not unheard of for women to be represented as tonsured. St Euphrosine, a 'transvestite' saint who took to a monastic life to avoid an unwanted marriage, cut off her hair as part of her

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146 Samantha Riches and Sarah Salih, eds. 'Introduction' in *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge 2002), pp. 1–8, (p. 5). The 'masculine'-type saint holds temporal power, is a missionary and a heroic defender of his virtue. An 'androgynous' saint is characterised by asceticism, private prayer and charity.

147 Keene, 'Envisioning a Saint', p. 58. Keene's use of the word 'protectrix', the feminine agentive, nonetheless seems to encompass her gender while Keene is seeking to deny its significance.

148 Bartlett, p. xxxviii.

149 '[H]er head was uncovered and her hair was as if carefully trimmed by scissors into a circle below, in the manner of a clerk's tonsure; she was dressed in the linen garment we call the surplice', pp. 76–7.

disguise, and in the mid-thirteenth century St Clare of Assissi (*d.*1253) assumed a tonsure as a sign of her consecration to God.[150] However, in both of these instances, the woman in question is seeking to appropriate masculine qualities and distance themselves from their femininity, proscribed as it was by male monastic writers. Middle English texts describe the cutting of nuns' hair, but also emphasise the need for a wimple to be worn over the shorn hair.[151] Margaret here is explicitly described as bearing 'tonsure clericorum' ('a clerk's tonsure'), not simply as a woman with shorn hair. This is all the more striking in a collection of miracles where elsewhere Margaret is conspicuously feminine and queenly, almost without exception described as beautiful, and often dressed in dazzling, regal clothing. This miracle offers a different Margaret: one at one with the monastic community, despite differences of gender and estate. Margaret is symbolically incorporated into the community of monks she herself founded by virtue of taking their habit and tonsure. As with the miracle, discussed above, in which Margaret is designated 'famule', Margaret in these rare instances appears as one professed to her own house.[152] She furthermore authorises the monastic community by appearing here as one of them, just as she authorises the Scottish monarchy by appearing as a queen in the Battle of Largs miracle. This miracle stands out as unique in the collection, and Margaret's presentation in the masculine gender at odds with the larger pattern of her as an emphatically feminine queen and mother. She does not behave differently, appearing to a girl to cure her of a triple disease, but her appearance as a monk suggests a malleable identity at odds with the Margaret who identifies herself by name in the Battle of Largs miracle.

Throughout, Margaret's femininity does not translate into weakness; her beauty is terrifying and her mercy is often corrective and accompanied by violence. She retains a distinct air of queenly

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[150] Robert Mills, 'The Signification of the Tonsure', in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Patricia Cullum and Katherine Lewis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 109–26, (p. 113).
[151] Mills, 'Signification of the Tonsure', p. 113.
[152] See above, p. 199.

authority even when she is acting as a saint. That Margaret's femininity does not compromise her power or authority in the *Miracula* is further evident if we consider it in contrast with the 'anti-miracle' that befalls Margaret in Goscelin's Laurencekirk foundation-legend.[153] In this legend, Margaret is told that Laurencekirk does not permit women to enter. She insists on entering regardless, and is struck down by a divine force, at which point she bemoans her pride and makes a gift to the church. The account is dated to the 1090s and was probably written while Margaret was still alive, or at the latest shortly after her death.[154] Goscelin does not appear to have been overtly misogynistic and indeed seems to have had a warm attitude towards women, writing *vitae* of female saints and having been a nunnery chaplain.[155] The emphasis in the legend falls primarily on the authority of the Laurencekirk clerics over even a member of the royal family than on Margaret's gender, but given the previously discussed miracle in which Margaret appears as a man in order to seem as one with a monastic community, gender is clearly important here. In the Laurencekirk legend, Margaret's authority and influence is compromised by her gender in a way that it never is in the *Miracula*, and as such it works like an inverse miracle, showing where Margaret lacks power.[156]

The *Miracula*'s stated intention in the prologue is to complete the work begun by the 'libellus de eius vita' which 'qualia eius opera in presenti seculo fuerint, quanta misericordia et pietate claruerint, sufficienter ostendit'.[157] This 'libellus' is most likely a version of Turgot's *Vita*. The image of Margaret provided by the *Miracula* is, in fact, strikingly similar to that given by the *Vita*: a stern but loving mother, a powerful but merciful queen, and one whose affection for her

153 See Chapter 3, p. 161.
154 Alan Macquarrie, 'An Eleventh-Century Account of the Foundation Legend of Laurencekirk, and of Queen Margaret's Pilgrimage There', *Innes Review*, 47:2 (1996), 95–109, (p. 96).
155 Macquarrie: 'The anecdote about Queen Margaret is also of great interest, and may suggest that the traditional view of her as an intolerant and assertive colonial improver (as Thurgot [*sic*], perhaps rather unconvincingly portrays her) may stand in need of modification', 'Foundation Legend', p. 102.
156 Macquarrie, 'Foundation Legend', p. 102.
157 'little book written about her life […] shows sufficiently well what were her deeds in the present world and how brightly they shone with mercy and kindness', pp. 70–1.

people was unwavering and whose devotion to God was exceptional. It is therefore easy to imagine how the Margaret of the *Miracula* might have been useful both to those who wanted to apply for Margaret's canonisation and those who sought to promote the Scottish monarchy. Even in the monastically-produced *Miracula*, Margaret almost always appears in all the trappings of a worldly queen – dressed beautifully and bearing the markers of temporal power. In the one exception to this, Margaret appears in the guise of a monk, identifying herself with her monastic foundation. The Margaret of the *Miracula* thus embodies the synthesis of Church and Crown that Dunfermline Abbey itself also effects. As abbey, saint's shrine and royal mausoleum Dunfermline – like its queen-saint patron – both enshrines Scottish kingship and aligns ecclesiastical and spiritual power with royal power. When Margaret appears as a queen but acts as a saint, she expresses God's special protection of the Scottish crown. Thus, in these miracles, Margaret's sanctity and queenship combine to promote simultaneously both the Scottish nation in general and Dunfermline Abbey in particular through the celebration of Margaret as saint. The two processes are inseparable.

Historical Miscellany ff. 17v–26r

Between Margaret's *Vita* and her *Miracula* (ff. 17v to 26r) there is a collection of historical and legendary material. This has never previously been edited, so all transcriptions and translations are my own, based on my examination of the manuscript in the Biblioteca Real, Madrid. The historical miscellany comprises short chronicle-style historical material about Margaret, her brother Edgar Ætheling, the contested succession following Margaret's death, and the eventual accession of Margaret's son Edgar. The account is followed by and set in parallel with the death of Edward the Confessor in England and the ensuing contest for the throne (ff. 20r–21v). More historical material concerning Margaret follows, including passages detailing her arrival in Scotland and what became of her children after her and Malcolm's deaths, the regnal list to James III, and finally a short chronicle fragment regarding Margaret's daughters.

Alice Taylor divides this historical material into the 'Dunfermline Continuations', the 'Dunfermline Chronicle' and the regnal list. For her the Dunfermline Continuations run from ff. 17v–21v and finish with the 'vision of the green tree'.[158] The title 'De s(an)cta m(ar)garita regina: de quib(us) p(ar)entib(us) genita sit [&] in qua p(at)ria nata: [&] qualit(er) in Scocia(m) uenuit [&] cum regi coniugata fuit' then marks the beginning of the Dunfermline Chronicle, framing all of the historical material as relevant to Margaret and her journey from Anglo-Saxon/Hungarian exile to Queen of Scots.[159] Although Taylor's suggestion that this particular text is distinct from the surrounding material is plausible, I have chosen to follow Bartlett's designation of this material as a 'historical miscellany'.[160]

Despite its use of various sources, this historical interlude between the *Vita* and *Miracula* appears to have been carefully planned with the aim of using Margaret as firm foundation for bolstering the Scottish royal line. The Dunfermline Continuations on f. 17v begin with the account of Margaret's body being taken out of Edinburgh Castle as Malcolm's brother Donald attempted to consolidate his position on the Scottish throne. The second section relates 'Quomodo edgarus ethlyng falsam calu(m)pnia(m) de regi(s) predicta sustinuit'.[161] In striking contrast to the *ASC*, the Dunfermline Continuations present Edgar Ætheling as a victim of Norman treachery. Instead of a barely competent supplicant constantly in need of Malcolm and Margaret's advice and support, this Edgar Ætheling is an unjustly accused victim of William the Conqueror and

[158] See Chapter 3, p. 150.
[159] 'About St Margaret the queen: from parents of what stock she was born, and in what land she was born, and in what manner she came to Scotland and was married to the king'. My own translation and transcription, based on Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097. Translations are my own. See also Alice Taylor, 'Historical Writing', p. 231.
[160] Bartlett, *Miracles*, p. xxxii.
[161] 'How Edgar Atheling suffered deceitful false accusations from the aforementioned king [i.e. William the Conqueror]'; 18r.

champion of his royal nephews in their contest for the Scottish throne.[162] This is followed by a description of the end of Edward the Confessor's reign on f. 20r, implicitly paralleling Malcolm and Margaret's reign with that of Edward the Confessor, and suggesting that while the struggle for power that followed Edward the Confessor's death ended with the deceitful William the Conqueror on the throne, the accession of Malcolm and Margaret's son Edgar was the restoration of the right royal line.

The section of the miscellany that Taylor designates the 'Dunfermline Chronicle' begins with Margaret's grandfather, Edmund Ironside, and the exile of his sons, including Margaret's father Edward. Edmund Ironside is dwelt upon, and almost nothing is said of Margaret's parents. The chronicle then relates Margaret's return to England. In the ensuing struggle for the English throne, the illegitimacy of the other candidates is emphasised. A rubricated heading on f. 22v reads 'De haraldo qui regnu(m) anglie i(n)uasit' ('about Harald, who invaded the kingdom of the English'), explicitly designating him as an invader rather than a candidate for the English kingship. William the Conqueror in the next rubricated heading is called 'willi(am) bastard' ('William the Bastard'), stressing his illegitimacy. In the heading that follows this, Margaret is called 'm(ar)garite de a(n)glia' ('Margaret of England'). Situated between Margaret's *Vita* with its expanded genealogy of English kings, the preceding historical material on the succession of Scottish and English thrones and the Scottish regnal list is therefore tailored to suggest an unbroken line of kings between Margaret and James III while the English throne is conspicuously occupied by illegitimate rulers of different lines who have taken it by force and deceit.

[162] See Chapter 3, p. 119.

The catalogue of kings is then followed by a short passage on Malcolm and Margaret's daughters Matilda and Mary from f. 25v to the top of the second column on f. 26r. The ink here is lighter than the ink at the end of the regnal list but continues throughout the *Miracula*. This is because of later additions made to the regnal list. This material outlines their marriages – Matilda's to Henry I and Mary's to Eustace III, Count of Bologne – and Matilda's death, which is framed in the same language as her mother's saintly death.[163] These short passages on the lives of Margaret's two daughters echo the male-orientated king-list. Margaret's daughters, especially Matilda, are heirs to her sanctity as her sons are heirs to her temporal power. Although the information given about them is brief, this passage suggests at least some degree of unusual importance placed upon Margaret's female descendants.

The historical miscellany leads directly into the *Miracula*. Although this series of historical texts appears to have been compiled from various different sources and the regnal list has clearly been added to and room has been left to continue it, these texts were not placed between Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula* thoughtlessly. Taylor suggests that these texts were never meant to stand alone and were originally compiled in the thirteenth century, but the 'Margaret'-compilation has been expanded in the fifteenth-century version the text survives in today so that the regnal list extends to James III.[164] Furthermore, the fifteenth-century compiler appears to have anticipated further additions and left a space on 25v so that future scribes could continue to update the regnal list. That a fifteenth-century scribe imagined that future generations of Scottish kings would want to trace their lineage back to her stands as testament to Margaret's enduring political significance. As it is, this would seem an attractive prospect, for the unbroken line of Scottish kings suggested

[163] Though Eustace is not named in the Dunfermline manuscript. Of Matilda's death, the author writes 'de hac uita migrauit' ('about how she departed this life', 26r); near-identical terminology is used of Margaret's death: 'de hac uita migrauerit' ('about how she departed this life', 16r).
[164] Taylor, 'Historical Writing', p. 231.

by the regnal list stands in silent contrast to the depiction of a fractured and compromised English royal line following the death of Edward the Confessor.

The Life of St Waldef

In keeping with the compilation's concern with the Scottish royal line, the Dunfermline manuscript's other saint's life also manifests a strong connection to the Scottish royal family. Ff. 41v–68r contain Joscelin of Furness' *Vita S. Valleui abbatis de Melros*, the *Life* of St Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, which can be dated to between 1207 and 1214.[165] Appearing at this point in the manuscript – after the *Vita*, regnal list and historical miscellany and Margaret's *Miracula*, and prefaced with a dedication to William the Lion, his son Alexander (the future Alexander II) and his brother David – the *Life* is unambiguously placed to emphasise the saintly character of Margaret's dynasty. Waldef himself was not in fact a blood relation of Margaret but the son of David I's wife, Matilda, and her first husband Simon de Senlis, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. In his lifetime, Waldef appears not to have had much of a role at his stepfather's court, and seems to have avoided the episcopal preferment that David I sought for him. Instead he joined the Cistercian Abbey at Rievaulx and then became Abbot of its daughter house at Melrose, which was founded in 1136.[166] However, as with the positioning of Margaret as Edward the Confessor's spiritual heir and Malcolm as inheritor of the kind of Anglo-Saxon kingship

[165] Derek Baker, 'Waldef [Waltheof], *ODNB*, accessed 14.10.15. There is, to date, no modern edited edition of the *Life* of St Waldef widely available. Waldef's *Life* is preserved in the *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 248–76. It has also been edited and translated with textual notes by George McFadden as a doctoral thesis and is available on microfilm from the University of Columbia, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[166] David I's son with Matilda was witnessing charters from the age of six (*c.*1120) and Ailred of Rievaulx, although much younger than Waldef, held household office in David I's court from an early age. Waldef appears not to have had much responsibility or any political role, and is simply referred to as 'the son of the queen' between the years of 1126 and 1131, and there is only one record of him acting as a witness in the reign of David I. Baker, 'Waldef', accessed 14.10.15.

espoused by Margaret's forbears, the implicit link makes them part of the same spiritual and ideological family.[167]

The author of this *vita*, Joscelin of Furness, was a Cistercian monk and hagiographer who is known to us now through the four *vitae* he wrote in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[168] These were the lives of saints Waldef, Kentigern, Patrick and Helena. Joscelin's wider work therefore demonstrates an interest in the early Celtic saints, but within the Dunfermline manuscript Waldef's life forms part of a pattern of interest in Margaret's dynasty. It is surprising therefore that there is no textual link drawn between them. None of the 'Margaret'-texts mention Waldef, nor does Waldef's *Vita* offer any substantial textual analogue to Margaret's own life. In light of this it seems unlikely that the Waldef *Vita* was part of the thirteenth-century compilation. It was most likely compiled with the 'Margaret'-texts by the fifteenth-century scribe. Margaret was thus, evidently, still being read as a saintly foremother, and the inclusion of a sainted step-relative reflects the enduring legitimating narrative centred on Margaret. Once again, devotional material serves to shore up the power and dignity of the Scottish royal line, both those descended from Malcolm and Margaret directly (until the end of the line with Margaret, Maid of Norway), and those, like Waldef himself, related through marriage or indirect lines. The compilation of the Dunfermline manuscript brings the two together. Not only does the line from Malcolm and Margaret to James III appear unbroken, but Margaret is positioned as the foremother of a large and saintly royal family. As with Waldef, Richard of Normandy, and to an extent Edward the Confessor, and their links to Margaret, actual blood relation is somewhat beside the point. The will of God – expressed conveniently

[167] Baker, 'Waldef', accessed 14.10.15.
[168] Robert Bartlett, *ODNB*, 'Joscelin of Furness', accessed 14.10.15.

through the fifteenth-century compiler's pen – constructs a seamless royal line that encompasses both monarchs and saints, all brought together through connection to Margaret.

Devotional Material

The rest of the manuscript, slightly less than half of the complete book, is taken up with a collection of short devotional texts (ff. 68v–112r). Once again, this is material that has never before been edited, and therefore all transcriptions and translations are my own. These are all fairly standard works. Some are concerned with monastic life (*Speculum claustralium* ff. 77v–79r, *Duodecim abusiones claustra* f. 79r, for example), others with correct interpretations of Christian teaching and proper application of Christian faith (*Liber de tribus punctis Christiane religionis* ff. 68v–70v, and ff. 81r–84v, for example), and they sit alongside some teachings of St Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux (ff. 71v–77r and 110v, 80v and 91r–91v). Although there is a preponderance of texts about renouncing the physical world and concentrating on the spiritual (for example, *Altercatio inter cor et oculum* f. 79r, and *De contemptu mundi* ff. 80r–v), in keeping with the balance of the 'Margaret'-texts in the first third of the compilation and their shared emphasis between hagiography and history, this devotional material seems predominantly concerned with the rule of the self. These texts reinforce and reflect the more monastic themes touched upon in Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula*. They emphasise strength of the monastic community that Margaret founded. They promote and strengthen it through emphasis on the community's good living – something that the Margaret of the *Miracula* takes into her own hands, protecting her monks from ailments both spiritual and physical. Thus the image projected is one of a monastic community cared for by a powerful benefactor: a royal who provides material patronage and a saint who offers divine protection.

The qualities promoted by these texts are those that Margaret herself embodies in her *Vita* and *Miracula*. For example, the *Duodecim abusiones claustra* on f. 79r censures just the kind of behaviour

Margaret herself condemns throughout the 'Margaret'-texts. Among those things forbidden in the *abusiones* are unholy speech ('rumor in claustro'), lack of discipline ('discipulus inobediens'), and laziness ('iuvenis otiosus').[169] Margaret offers the perfect example of correct behaviour. Her only recorded speech is to spur legal reform and read the psalter and religious offices, she disciplines her children and the pilgrims who come seeking healing alike, and she prays, fasts and works tirelessly to free slaves, reform the Church and provide an example for her children. Only her rich clothing stands at odds with the monastic proscription of 'h(ab)itus p(re)c(io)sus' ('expensive clothing'), perhaps, in part, a reason why Margaret appears in one miracle dressed in the habit of a monk.

Thomas of Ireland's early fourteenth century *Liber de Tribus punctis Chrsitiane religionis* ff. 68v–70v, which outlines the duties of secular clergy, forms a counterpoint that mirrors the Malcolm/Margaret pairing of the 'Margaret'-texts. The compilation offers spiritual guidance to the monks, but also to those in the secular world, so that piety might be shared and good governance be common practice. Like Dunfermline Abbey and Margaret herself, this compilation's significance crosses the secular/sacred divide, showing that the two spheres actually intertwine. In the same way that Margaret can ennoble the Scottish court in the world through the acquisition of expensive luxury goods, so can she ennoble it spiritually through her religious reforms.

Just as Margaret comes to comfort the monks in their spiritual weakness in her *Miracula*, this manuscript likewise provides spiritual guidance, support and advice to the cloistered male reader in times of spiritual trouble. The good spiritual rule of the monks, furthermore, presents an analogue for the good rule of the Scottish kings descended from St Margaret, herself a symbol of

[169] 'Gossiping in the cloister', 'disobedient pupils', 'young men at leisure'.

pious and reforming rule. In the *Vita*, Margaret offers the spiritual advice and guidance Malcolm needs to rule himself and his kingdom well. In a mirror image of this, in the *Miracula* she provides the discipline and guidance the monks of Dunfermline need to rule themselves. St Margaret in the texts contained within the manuscript itself provides spiritual guidance on how to turn from the world and live a good monastic life, and shores up the Scottish royal dynasty in her defence of the kingdom and her marriage and childbearing. The Dunfermline manuscript fulfils the same role, providing the monks with spiritual comfort and guidance, and continuing Margaret's role as genealogical nexus for the Scottish royal family.

Conclusion

Thus the manuscript that identifies itself 'Est Margarite de Dunfermlyne liber iste' ('This is the book of Margaret of Dunfermline') both mirrors and performs the roles that Margaret herself performs within it. The Scottish royal line hinges on Margaret as genealogical link. The compilation's inclusion of a regnal list alongside Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula*, various historical genealogies that link Margaret's line to Adam, Anglo-Saxon kings and another Scottish saint – Waldef – also serve the same purpose. Margaret as Malcolm's queen provides spiritual and political advice to the king. Likewise the book itself offers models of virtuous and effective kingship in the genealogy of Margaret's *Vita*, the historical material, and the regnal list. Margaret as saint offers healing to pilgrims and spiritual guidance to her monks, advocating a retreat from worldly life and devotion to the life of the spirit. This 'book of Margaret' places reports of Margaret comforting her monks with spiritual advice beside devotional texts that advocate the same self-rule, and the same Benedictine disavowal of secular life. The Dunfermline manuscript encourages pilgrimage to Margaret's tomb through its record of the miracles she performs, which in turn becomes pilgrimage to one of the most significant Scottish royal mausoleums of the medieval period, bolstering the power of Scottish kings as well as the power and influence of Margaret's cult.

In this compilation, we see a unique synthesis of the many roles that Margaret plays throughout literary representations of her as queen and saint. The pious queen reforming the heathen husband of the 'Cotton' *Vita* is expanded into a saintly queen fit for a brave and noble Scottish king. The unwilling bride of the *ASC* D-version who nonetheless provides money, advice and protection to a hapless brother, becomes an influential and learned queen capable of providing legal and ecclesiastical counsel in life, and spiritual and moral counsel in her after-life as a saint. The compilation of political and religious texts in this manuscript captures and expresses all of the paradoxes of representing a powerful and influential woman through a tradition of male, clerical writing. Margaret can offer counsel and advice, but Malcolm ultimately is the instigator of religious and legal reform. Margaret can heal illnesses and offer spiritual guidance to the monks, but her authority here is mediated through God, the Church, and male-authored Scripture, and her favour and protection falls largely on the male monks of her order. It is Margaret's ancestors who matter, not Malcolm's, and yet it is their sons whose lives and actions dominate the regnal list and the historical miscellany, not her daughters, or the queens of any of her male descendants. Devotion to Margaret becomes devotion to Scottish kingship, and Margaret's strength, authority and influence are always male-mediated, and conspicuously unique among women. In the Older Scots chronicles of the late fourteenth and early to mid-fifteenth century, Malcolm and Margaret would become a second origin-point for Scottish kingship and national identity, partially mirroring and partially replacing the mythical founders Gaythelos and Scota. In the Dunfermline compilation, the seeds of this are evident. Margaret's political usefulness to the Scottish royal line is implied by the compilation of devotional material on Margaret alongside chronicle material. In Fordun, Bower and Wyntoun that synthesis would become complete, and Margaret as queen and saint would come to stand as a metonym for God's protection of and support for the Scottish nation.

Chapter 5: St Margaret in the Older Scots Chronicles

The Older Scots chronicle tradition begins in the second half of the fourteenth century with John of Fordun's (*d.* in or post-1363) *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (1363, with notes up to 1387 in some manuscripts).[1] Before this, all that survives is brief annals and king-lists. As things stand, there is no early chronicle material comparable to the Old English chronicle tradition. It is entirely possible that this is due to Edward I's reported destruction of Scottish chronicles in the thirteenth century.[2] Eighty years after the completion of the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, Walter Bower retranscribed and expanded it to form the *Scotichronicon*, a vast and encyclopaedic chronicle of the Scottish people, stretching from Scotland's mythic origins to Bower's own time, the minority reign of James II (1430–1460).[3] Directly preceding this at the beginning of the fifteenth century, is Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (1408–1420x1424), the only one of these long histories to be written in the vernacular.

St Margaret appears throughout the Older Scots chronicle tradition. In this chapter, I will primarily focus on the representation of Margaret in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*, the longest chronicle, and the one in which Margaret appears most frequently and significantly. Then I will go on to discuss Margaret in the later abbreviation of Bower, the *Liber Pluscardensis* (*c.*1461), the complementary text the *Liber Extravagans* (1304–1306), the short prose chronicle tradition, and

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[1] *Johannis de Fordun Chronica gentis Scotorum: John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. by William Forbes Skene and trans. by Felix J. H. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871). All subsequent references are to this edition.

[2] *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English*, ed. by D.E.R. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen and Edinburgh: Aberdeen University Press, 1987–98) vol. 9, pp. 234–5. All subsequent references are to this edition. This accusation was made by Baldred Bisset in his 1301 appeal to the Pope for independent Scottish sovereignty. The date this supposedly occurred is not known precisely, and nor is the precise nature of the materials that he reportedly destroyed. See also Katherine H. Terrell, '"Lynealy discendit of þe devil": Genealogy, Textuality, and Anglophobia in Medieval Scottish Chronicles', *Studies in Philology*, 108:3 (2011), 320–44, (p. 333).

[3] D.E.R. Watt, 'Bower, Walter (1385–1449)', *ODNB*, accessed 20.06.14.

then Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* and, briefly, Barbour's *Bruce* (1372–1388), a generically mixed text that aligns itself with traditions of both romance and historiography. The Older Scots chronicles mark a shift in representation of Margaret from either the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal line – as is the case in her *Vita* and the Old English chronicle tradition – or a genealogical turning-point, as is the case in the Dunfermline manuscript material. To these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scottish chroniclers, Margaret marked not an end or the joining of the English and Scottish royal lines, but a new beginning – and moreover one that promised generations of glorious and unassailable Scottish sovereignty. However, the chronicles also bear out a decline in Margaret's primacy over Malcolm, begun by the interpolations in her thirteenth-century 'Dunfermline' *Vita*. Margaret is no longer the reforming queen who reshaped Scotland. A saint and dynastic mother she may be, but she is also the wife of a king, and moreover a King of Scots. Margaret's importance is as Malcolm's wife and mother of his children. Scottish kingship is elevated to such an extent that a King of Scots is more worthy of reverence even than a canonised saint.

Fordun himself is often credited with shaping Scottish history as we know it, particularly Scottish conception of that history as unified and unifying.[4] Fordun's work came out of the period referred to as the 'war of historiography', in which a war of words complemented the martial actions of the battlefield during the Scottish Wars of Independence against England.[5] The first record of chronicle texts being used to support Scottish independence is Baldred Bisset's appeal

[4] Matthew P. McDiarmid, 'The Northern Initiative: John of Fordun, John Barbour and the Author of the "Saints' Legends"', in *Literature of the North*, ed. by David Hewitt and Michael Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983), pp. 1–13, (p. 1).

[5] This term was coined by R. James Goldstein in his monograph *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), pp. 23–103. See also Steve Boardman, 'Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain', in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, ed. by Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 47–72, (p. 47). Watt, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, p. 234.

in 1301 to the Pope to protect Scottish independence from Edward I's campaign for overlordship.[6]

From this point, Scottish chronicle tradition is inextricably linked with the fight to preserve the independent sovereignty of Scotland. The political assertions of the declaration of Arbroath were bolstered by the literary and ideological work of nationalist histories like Bower's *Scotichronicon*, and it is here that Margaret plays an important part.[7] She is not only a saint who embodies God's special protection for the nation of Scotland but also an Anglo-Saxon princess through whom the assertion of independence could be taken a step further: that the Scottish kings were also the rightful heirs to the English throne.

Thus, Margaret is instrumental to the political agenda of the chronicles. Fordun, Bower and Wyntoun all sought to represent Scotland as not only independent but also as having been so since a distinguished distant mythic past.[8] All three chroniclers begin with Scotland's legendary founders, Gaythelos and Scota.[9] Margaret is absorbed into this mythic narrative as a second

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[6] The English had presented the Pope with English chronicle material, including Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Brittaniae*, in order to make the claim that Scotland had historically belonged to England, tracing this back as far as the mythic arrival of Brutus in Britain; the Scots countered this by tracing their origins to a Greek prince, Gaythelos, and his Egyptian wife, Scota. See: R. James Goldstein, 'Baldred Bisset', *ODNB*, accessed 12.09.14; Edward Donald Kennedy, 'Introduction', in *Short Scottish Prose Chronicles*, ed. by Dan Embree et al. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012), p. 6. All subsequent references are to this edition. Some of the documents are reproduced here: *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed. by E.L.G. Stones (London: Nelson, 1965).

[7] Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306–1469* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), p. 56.

[8] Edward Donald Kennedy, 'The Antiquity of Scottish Civilization: King-Lists and Genealogical Chronicles', in *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 159–74, (p. 168). Scota, wife of Gaythelos, was the mythic foundress of Scotland, an Egyptian princess who gave the land and people her name.

[9] According to Fordun, Gaythelos was a Greek prince. In Fordun's account, he is exiled to Egypt because his father considers him a political threat. In Egypt, Gaythelos marries the daughter of the Pharoah – the same daughter of Pharoah who rescued Moses from the river – Scota. After the death of the Pharaoh, Gaythelos and Scota are exiled together once more and look for a new homeland, coming to Ireland first, then settling in Scotland, where Scota gives the people her name. For further discussion of Gaythelos and Scota, see: Boardman, 'Matter of Britain', pp. 47–72; Emily Wingfield, *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), pp. 9–20.

origin point, and gives this new Scotland extra authority in the eyes of the Roman church through her canonisation. Margaret becomes a new founder-figure, a royal dynastic mother. She is adopted as an ancestor by both Bruce and Stewart houses despite having no direct blood link to either.[10] The focus on bloodline seen in the Old English chronicle tradition and the *Vita* is superseded by the importance of constructing a fiction of an unbroken family line in the works of Fordun and Bower, and their continuations. The unbroken narrative of history presented by these long chronicles suggests an unbroken line of Scottish sovereigns to whom Margaret is spiritual and symbolic mother. This new dynasty, sprung from Margaret, is moreover one that had hereditary rights in England and authority recognised by the Roman Church and its fifteenth-century European subjects.

In the representation of Margaret, as she appears in the Older Scots chronicle tradition, a delicate balance is sought which combines Margaret's English origins with her unswerving dedication to Scotland, and her sainthood with her real-world importance as a mother and a queen. In contrast to both versions of Turgot's *Vita* and the Dunfermline *Miracula*, our sense of Margaret is less of the woman, and more of the extensive political potency of her as an icon: the potential she posed as a figure onto which different political beliefs could be projected. Throughout the chronicle tradition, we see the least politically active, but the most politicised, representation of Margaret.

[10] Melissa M. Coll-Smith, 'From Chronicle to Liturgy: Scottish Sources of the Legend of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland', in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 143–64, (p. 148).

Bower's *Scotichronicon*

As Abbot of Inchcolm and a member of the king's councils, Walter Bower (1385–1449) was actively involved in both secular and ecclesiastical politics during his lifetime.[11] Bower was in favour of an 'authoritarian alliance of church and state', an ideology that is abundantly evident in his representation of St Margaret.[12] It was during his time as Abbot of Inchcolm (from 1418) that he wrote the *Scotichronicon* at the request of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth. Bower was originally commissioned to re-transcribe Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, which was then eighty years old. Fordun's chronicle account ended in the year 1153 and Bower extended the chronology to the murder of James I and its aftermath, adding eleven more books to Fordun's original five. As far as we know, Fordun's history was the first attempt to write a complete history of Scotland, and perhaps reflects the efforts made to mend the breach in Scottish historiography caused by Edward I's destruction of chronicle material. Fordun's work shaped the historiography of the next two centuries through its use of history as a legitimating nationalistic discourse.[13] These histories were not just intellectual endeavours, but also propaganda: political tools with real-world uses. Bower states in his prologue that his intention is both to preserve and continue Fordun's work.[14] A fair draft copy survives, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS

[11] Some of these issues have been explored before, in my article, Claire Harrill, "'Ego Sum Margarita, Olim Scotorum Regina": St Margaret and the Idea of the Scottish Nation in Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2016), pp. 65–79. In this article I discuss: Margaret's arrival in Scotland and the naming of St Margaret's Bay after her, in particular with reference to her congruence with Scota in this episode; the translation of Margaret's relics, in which they refuse to be moved until Malcolm is honoured in the same manner, dramatising her role as ideal queen and her deference to a Scottish king; the Battle of Largs miracle, in which Margaret defends her country from the King of Norway. In this article, I focus on Margaret's role as ideal queen, and how she provides a model for both male and female rulers, as well as offering a legitimating discourse for Scottish kingship through a combination of Virgilian references to a destined homeland, her likeness to Scota and her likeness to the Virgin Mary.

[12] Watt, 'Bower', *ODNB*, accessed 12.02.15.

[13] Bruce Webster, 'John of Fordun and the Independent Identity of the Scots' in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Alfred P. Smyth (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 85–102, (p. 85).

[14] 'David Stewart de Rossisse peticionibus acquievi, videlicet ad transcribendum sequens inclitum opus historicum per venerabilem oratorem dominem Johannem Fordona presbyterum nuper et egregie inchoatum, in quinque libris luculenter et distincte cronographatum. Et non solum, ut premisi, ad transcribendum verum eciam usque ad moderna tempora continuandum, potissime cum post completum quintum suum librum multa reliquit in scriptis, nondum tamen usquequaque distincta, sed per que

171, which shows extensive annotations written by Bower's scribe, who may have been one of the canons of Inchcolm.[15] This material was added into the body text in the five surviving copies made after Bower's death.[16] Given the extensive similarities between Fordun's *Chronica* and the first five books of Bower's chronicle, both textually and in stated intention, I will only discuss Fordun in this chapter where his representation of Margaret differs from Bower's. Like Bower, Fordun was not the original author of much of this material, but a compiler, drawing together various sources to construct a history of Scotland.[17]

Bower's history is distinctly European-minded rather than insular. His chronicle draws on European Latin historiographical and literary traditions and endeavours to locate Scotland in Europe as a significant political player. As such the work is a political endeavour as well as a literary and historical one, articulating in no uncertain terms Scotland's place in Europe as a nation equal to England and France, and one able to stake its claim to sovereignty and intellectual and cultural significance in distinctly European terms.[18] Bower's style is relatively academic and intellectual. He conspicuously draws on classical and medieval texts, seeking to put

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curiosus indagator opus continuare facilius poterit ad premissa' ('I have agreed to satisfy the urgent requests of […] David Stewart of Rosyth, that is to transcribe the following famous historical work right up to the present day, particularly since after completing his fifth book he left a great deal of written material, which had not yet however been everywhere arranged, but by means of which a careful investigator could easily continue the work to the afore-mentioned time'), Prologue from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171. Watt, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, pp. 2–3.

[15] The Corpus MS was Bower's working text, copied in the 1440s. See: D.E.R. Watt, 'Additional Items in Corpus MS', in *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, p. 34; D.E.R. Watt, 'Editing Walter' Bower's *Scotichronicon*', in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance)*, ed. by Roderick J. Lyall and Felicity Riddy (Stirling: University of Stirling, 1981), p. 165.

[16] Watt, 'Bower', accessed 12.02.15.

[17] See: Wingfield, *Trojan Legend*, p. 24; Broun, *Irish Identity*, pp. 215–68.

[18] It is unsurprising that Bower's outlook would be European rather than insular. Though he was educated in Scotland and there is no hard evidence that he ever studied in France – despite some suggestions that he did – Scotland had strong connections with France, even into the fifteenth century when James I married the English Joan Beaufort. Historically, Scotland and France had a close relationship, with not just trade but also political alliance, mutual migration and intermarriage. See: Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman: Queenship in Scotland, 1424–1463* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), p. 36; Watt, 'Biography of Bower', *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, p. 204; S.G.E. Lythe, 'Economic Life', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Jennifer M. Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 66–84, (pp. 76–7). Scotland also had particularly strong trade connections with the Low Countries.

Scottish history in a broader intellectual context, especially within the cycle of *translatio imperii* – and indeed, as an extension thereof, *translation studii* – the medieval idea that power and learning moved around the world as empires rose and fell.[19] Bower believed strongly in the importance of recording Scottish history, and considered this to be the duty of the monasteries, which he believed ought to keep their own annals.[20]

Edward I's aforementioned apparent removal and destruction of Scottish chronicle material during the 1290s stands as evidence for the political importance of chronicle material. These ancient chronicles would, according to Fordun and Bower, have borne witness to Scotland's historic independence.[21] For Bower, loss of history was tantamount to loss of identity, and his extensive effort to repair and continue the historical record stands as testament to the fact that he believed 'only conscientious historiography [could] resurrect these foundational texts' and prove Scotland's ancient right to independence.[22] In destroying previous chronicle material, 'Edward was separating the Scottish people from any convenient means of arguing against historically-based territorial claims'.[23] It was the work of Bower's *Scotichronicon* to not only copy Fordun's attempt to bridge this gap, but also to extend it so that that claim stretched from the mythic past to the uncertain present, shoring up both the Scottish royal line and the land boundaries of the nation against any claims of English overlordship.

Bower was writing at the beginning of James II's minority reign, directly following the assassination of James I on 21st February 1437, in the years 1440–1449, during which time the

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[19] Watt, 'Bower', accessed 12.02.15. *Translatio Imperii* was the medieval idea that supreme power ('imperium') moved around the world in cycles of rise and fall. Troy and the Roman Empire are often cited as examples. See Jacques Le Goff, *La Civilization de l'Occident Medieval* (Paris: Arthaud, 1964).
[20] Sally Mapstone, 'The *Scotichronicon*'s First Readers', in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland: Essays Presented to Donald Watt on the Occasion of the Completion of the Publication of Bower's Scotichronicon*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Edinburgh: Mercat, 1999), p. 34.
[21] W.W. Scott, 'The Sources', in *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, p. 234–5
[22] Terrell, 'Anglophobia', p. 333.
[23] Terrell, 'Anglophobia', p. 333.

political landscape of Scotland shifted dramatically as the Douglases, Crichtons and Livingstons all vied for the opportunity to have guardianship – and therefore influence – over the young king.[24] During the time that James II spent in the care of these various powerful families, and between Stirling and Edinburgh Castles, he and his sisters were also in the custody of his mother, Joan Beaufort.[25] Bower's chronicle provides a stable model of good kingship against this shifting backdrop of political influences, and it also provides an unequivocal articulation of James II's hereditary right to royal power. It is politically useful both as a tool for guidance and a legitimating text. But as well as providing advice for the young king, it also provided models for those under whose care he was raised. Certainly, there is much within it that might apply to the various earls who had control of the young king during his minority, but there are also plenty of models for queens present and future. St Margaret's adoption as an ideal queen, even by the intensely Anglophobic Bower, may indeed have much to do with her role as mother, and the perfect example of ideal rulership she passed on to both her daughters and her sons.[26]

While the *Scotichronicon* is deeply concerned with emphasising Scottish national independence and providing advice to the young king in the form of models of good and bad rulers, its intended audience was much wider than the boy-king James II: Bower asserts that 'Non Scotus est Christe cui liber non placet iste'.[27] The stated audience seems to be, at the very least, the whole of the Scottish people, even if the actual audience was not that wide. The *Scotichronicon*, as an extension of Fordun's original work to recuperate Scottish national history, stands as testament to the

[24] Mapstone, 'Bower on Kingship', in *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, p. 321.
[25] Alan R. Bothwick, 'James III', *ODNB*, accessed 19.07.16.
[26] In both the *Scotichronicon* and its later adaptation, the *Liber Pluscardensis*, the chapters on good kingship come between the death of Alexander II and the reign of Alexander III. They focus on the minority of Alexander III, and the removal of bad councillors. 'The dove-tailing of such incidents with advice on kingship might well provoke a sense of parallels for a contemporary chronicler and audience with the early years of James II and anxiety for those of James III'. Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450–1500' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1986), p. 19. These passages make the advisory function of these texts within their political climate abundantly clear.
[27] 'Christ! He is not a Scot who is not pleased with this book', vol. 8, p. 340–1.

ancient right of the Scottish people to their nation and as an assertion of their identity within Europe, particularly as distinct from that of the English.[28] The choice of Latin is also a careful and deliberate act of positioning on Bower's part. Latin was the language of the Church, of the ecclesiastical elite – to which Bower belonged – and, most importantly, a language that transcended national borders, making his chronicle not just the history-book for Scots that he frames it as, but a history for Scotland in Europe.[29] The use of Latin positions Bower's *Scotichronicon* in competition with English histories that purported to stretch back to mythic times, in particular Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, both anchoring the *Scotichronicon* in this tradition and writing against it.[30] The use of Latin rather than the vernacular makes the textual conversation European, rather than internal within Scotland itself. It also offers a link with the classical texts on which Bower drew when he was writing – in particular, two Roman founding-narratives deeply invested in the idea of national legitimacy, Virgil's *Aeneid* and Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*.[31] Chronicles were important historical tools, used to shape not only records of the past but political decisions of the present. History and its lessons were used 'to shape the outlook of the educated section of fourteenth-century society', and Bower's chronicle, as well as being concerned with the establishment of the Scottish nation, is concerned with right rule, the need for the people to approve their ruler, and God's defence of the rightful king.[32]

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[28] Pre-Fordun, some historical material actually viewed 'Alba' (Scotland) not as an independent nation, but as a branch of Irish history. Kings were often traced back to kings of Ireland based on the premise that the children of Scota and Gaythelos settled in Ireland. This narrative persisted as late as the reign of Alexander III, where the Irish kings were listed as his ancestors at his inauguration, but Fordun suppresses this strand of the historical narrative in favour of one that presents Scotland as a self-contained and independent nation. For further discussion on this, see Dauvit Broun, 'The Birth of Scottish History', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 76 (1997), pp. 4–22.

[29] Indeed, Watt argues that since Bower was writing for 'men of culture in general', Latin was 'the only language which had for centuries before the 1440's [sic] served to hold the whole country together and […] was still the language of administration and education' and therefore a natural choice. Watt, 'Edititng Walter Bower', p. 162.

[30] Particularly in reference to the use of origin-myth figures (Aeneas, Brutus, Gaythelos), see Wingfield, *Trojan Legend*, p. 32.

[31] Fordun appears to draw briefly on Virgil, but Bower uses him extensively. Bower alone uses Livy as a source. See Watt, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, pp. 240, 243.

[32] John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987), p. 58.

Though half Anglo-Saxon and raised in Hungary, Margaret's marriage to Malcolm and subsequent queenship make her an attractive prospect for Bower as an icon of Scottish sovereignty. As both queen and saint she embodies Bower's ideal Scotland, one in which the power of God and the Church is inextricably interwoven with the fabric of Scottish kingship. Margaret first appears in Book V of the *Scotichronicon*, Fordun's final book, and is then mentioned in every subsequent book in some form, even if this is just in the genealogy of another figure. She – along with the Virgin Mary – is the most prominent female figure in the *Scotichronicon*, being listed on 39 occasions in Watt's comprehensive index. Some male figures receive more attention than Margaret, among them Edward I of England and William the Lion, but their appearances are concentrated within short episodes of the chronicle. Margaret's consistent appearances and unusual prominence serve to remind the reader of the dynastic past of Scotland's current king – a dynastic past that includes a saint, and therefore implies God's special protection of Scottish independent sovereignty, and a link to the English throne through Margaret's Anglo-Saxon royal heritage. Thus Margaret comes to function as a metonym for divinely-protected Scottish sovereignty, but also for potential Scottish superiority over England, and to imply a Scottish claim on the English throne.

Margaret appears first when she arrives as an exile in Scotland and marries Malcolm. Here Bower provides details of her life and death. She then occurs again in the epitaph of her daughter Matilda, in the description of the death of her son King David I, and again in a description in Book VI of his genealogy. In Book IX she appears as part of a genealogy in the section describing how Robert the Bruce came to be King of Scotland, then in Book X at the translation of her relics, and in the same book appearing in a vision to John Wemyss before the Battle of Largs. As well as these prominent episodes, Margaret features throughout in the potted genealogies that often accompany the introduction of a king. What is clear from this pattern of

Margaret's appearances is her powerful connection with the idea of Scottish sovereignty, and her valued status as a founding mother of a dynasty of Scottish kings.

Margaret's Arrival

In Book V, her first appearance, Margaret arrives in Scotland as an exile and a refugee. Even this first moment is coloured by Bower's nationalistic agenda as he represents Margaret in parallel to both the Virgin Mary and the mythic founder of Scotland, Scota.

From the very first mention of Margaret, she is bound to the land over which she is queen. Like Scota, who on arrival gives the land and people her name, in the moment of her arrival Margaret gives her name to her place of landing. Bower writes: '[a]pplicuit igitur illa sancta familia quodam loco qui Sinus Sancte Margarete deinceps ab incolis appellatur'.[33] The eponymous bay links both Margaret to the land and the land to Margaret. The name serves as a reminder of the story of Margaret's arrival, and in turn the larger narrative of Scottish history in which Margaret functions as a new origin point, and forms an analogue with Scota. Right from the outset, Margaret's connection is with the land over which she will become queen, rather than the land of her ancestors on her father's side (England) or with the land where she was born and raised (Hungary). Like Scota herself, Margaret is the ancestress of a dynasty of Scottish kings and the namesake of the physical land, inextricably linking the land to the bloodline that rules it.

But Margaret is not just a parallel for Scota here. Bower also implies a likeness with the Virgin Mary. One of the envoys sent to greet Margaret on her arrival reports the meeting thus:

> Vidimus ibi quandam dominam, quam ob forme incomparatam speciem, et eloquencie jocunde facunditatem, cum ob ceterarum fecunditatem virtutum, illius

[33] 'So that saintly family landed at a certain place which since that time has been called St Margaret's Bay by the local inhabitants', vol. 3, pp. 50–1.

> familie judicio meo dominam, suspicans tibi, rex, annuncio, de cuius mirabili venustate et moralitate mirandum magis censeo quam narrandum.[34]

Though not a direct echo of the Vulgate annunciation, this scene employs the language of wonder ('mirandum') and fertility ('fecunditatem') associated with the Virgin Mary and the conception of Christ.[35] In particular, the rare 'annuncio' is used where 'nuntio' would more commonly be used.[36] The choice of language here implicitly parallels Margaret's arrival in Scotland with the biblical Annunciation. Like the Virgin Mary, Margaret is both holy mother and saintly queen. As an analogue for both the Virgin Mary and Scota, Bower's Margaret is a powerful icon through whom Scotland's mythic past and Christian present are woven together. This synthesis further serves to doubly legitimise her children and their subsequent dynasty by conferring on them an ancient right to the land and a God-ordained and Church-sanctioned right to the kingship. This account goes even further, having the envoy explicitly state that Margaret's arrival was arranged by providence:

> Nec mirum si illam dominam crediderint, quam dominam non solum illius familie, sed eciam post fratrem Anglie tocius heredem, ymmo regni sui participem futuramque reginam divina predestinaverit providencia.[37]

It is God's plan, according to Bower, that Margaret's children rule not only Scotland, but England as well.

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[34] 'We saw there a certain lady, who, I tell you, Your Majesty, I suspect and judge is the mistress of the family on account of her incomparable beauty of person and wealth of pleasing eloquence as well as abundance of other good qualities. Her wonderful charm and character I consider easier to admire than to describe', vol. 3, pp. 50–1.

[35] s.v., 'To be wondered at.'; s.v., 'Fertility, fruitfulness', *DMLBS*.

[36] s.v. 'annuntiare' – 'to announce, proclaim, ascribe'. It is a cognate word with 'annuntiatio', which lists under definition 1. b. 'the Annunciation'. Both *DMLBS*. Bower appears to maintain this from his source, the 'Dunfermline' version of Turgot's *Vita*; see edited text in Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 171.

[37] 'And no wonder they believed her to be the mistress, who was the mistress not only of that family but also heiress to the whole of England after her brother, and indeed predestined by providence to be the consort and future queen of Malcolm's kingdom', vol. 3, pp. 50–1.

The Marriage of Malcolm and Margaret

The *Scotichronicon* also revises the version of events surrounding Malcolm and Margaret's marriage. Turgot's *Vita* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* both present Margaret as an unwilling bride, with the *ASC* going so far as to say that Margaret was forced into the marriage because her family 'elles ne dorste, for þan þe hi on his anwald becumene wæron'.[38] Bower, following Fordun, directly contradicts the preceding Old English chronicle tradition and insists that Margaret and Malcolm's union – one to which many noble families throughout Europe traced their lineage into the late medieval period – was undertaken willingly.[39] At first sight, Malcolm identifies Margaret as one of noble birth and a potential equal:

> Rex igitur utcumque Margaritam viderat, eamque de regio semine simul et imperali genitam esse didicerat, ut eam in uxorem duceret peciit et optinuit.[40]

Of particular interest is Bower's description of Margaret as 'imperiali genitam' ('[of] imperial descent'). Although Margaret was a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon royal line, in her lifetime neither she nor her dynasty were ever described as 'imperiali'. Margaret's granddaughter Matilda was known as 'Matilda Imperatrix' following her marriage to the German Emperor, Heinrich, but no eleventh- or twelfth-century accounts call Margaret 'imperial'.[41] Positioning Margaret as of imperial descent suggests a Scottish 'imperium' with all the attendant connotations of authority, and parallels with Roman imperial power.[42] Scotland is, then, to be seen directly in parallel with the Roman Empire. Just like Rome in Virgil's *Aeneid*, this land is the destined home of the

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[38] 'dared not [do] otherwise, because [they] had come into [Malcolm's] power'. Old English Text, p. 82; translation, p. 201. Old English text from *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, ed. by G.P. Cubbin, vol. 6, MS D (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996). Translations are from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix Press, 2000). All subsequent references are to these editions. See Chapter 3, p. 119.

[39] Murray Andrew Lucas Tod, 'The Narrative of the Scottish Nation and Its Late Medieval Readers: Non-Textual Reader Scribal Activity in the MSs of Fordun, Bower and their Derivatives' (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, August 2005), pp. 91–3.

[40] 'As soon as the king saw Margaret, and learned that she was of royal and also imperial descent, he sought to have her as his wife, and succeeded', vol. 3, pp. 52–3.

[41] Marjorie Chibnall, 'Matilda [Matilda of England]', *ODNB*, accessed 10.02.15.

[42] Ryoko Harikae, 'John Bellenden's Chronicles of Scotland: Translation and Circulation' (D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2010), p. 54.

Scottish people. Positioning Margaret as inheritor of this *imperium* rather than originator emphasises the long-held rights of the Scottish people, and once more makes Margaret a second Scota.

Bower does concede that the marriage was contracted 'magis suorum quam sua voluntate, ymmo Dei ordinacione'.[43] But, unlike the *ASC* account, Margaret herself enters into the union as an active party and something approaching an equal to Malcolm, explicitly 'nec […] quasi captiva' ('not […] as a captive').[44] The refugee princess coerced into marriage in the *ASC* is thus reimagined as a future Queen of Scots accepting her destiny from God. She does not appear vulnerable as she does in the Old English chronicle tradition. When Margaret marries Malcolm, it is as a royal woman with 'mult[i][…]divici[ae]' ('great […] riches') of her own.[45] One of these riches is Margaret's Black Rood, a supposed piece of the True Cross which she kept in an ornate reliquary.[46] The Black Rood is taken by Bower as a symbol not just of good queenship according to the St Helena model, but also of good governance more generally.[47] As both object of material wealth and holy relic, the Black Rood is metonymic of what Margaret has to offer the kingdom of Scotland: the secular advantages of her Anglo-Saxon royal blood and the spiritual riches of her piety – a piety that she hands down to her children. It is instrumental as a symbol not only to Margaret's own representation as an ideal queen in the model of St Helena, but also the ideal of kingship that Bower aims to promote.[48]

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[43] 'more in accordance with the wishes of her people than her own desire, or rather at God's command', vol. 3, pp. 52–3.
[44] vol. 3, pp. 52–3.
[45] vol. 3, pp. 52–3.
[46] Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2013), pp. 31–2.
[47] For Margaret's possession of the True Cross see Chapter 2, p. 95.
[48] Much has been written on the function of Bower's *Scotichronicon* as an advice text for the young James II, and the models of kingship the text supplies. For further discussion, see Sally Mapstone, 'Bower on Kingship', in *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, pp. 321–38.

Margaret passes her Black Rood on to her son David, and along with it a model of rulership that unifies the duality of saintly queen and warrior king in a single model of the perfect monarch. Like Bower's ideal Scotland, built on the union of Church and state, Bower's ideal king is born of a line that combines Malcolm's military strength with Margaret's piety. This is dramatised in David I's deathbed scene.[49] When David requests the Black Rood, Bower reminds us of its origins: '[h]anc religiosa regina Margarita huius regis mater, que de semine imperatorum et regum Hungariorum et Anglorum extitit oriunda, allatam in Scocia, quasi munus hereditarium transmisit ad filios'.[50] Jo-Ann MacNamara has discussed at length how possession of the True Cross and its symbolic significance for queens functioned as an *imitatio helenæ*, but what is most significant here is that Margaret – who is herself a saintly queen – passed her Black Rood not to either of her two daughters, but 'ad filios' ('to her sons').[51] As Margaret passes the physical object of the Black Rood on to her sons, she also symbolically passes on her model of queenship, adding the feminine traits of piety to the more traditional masculine qualities of kingship, thereby serving to suggest that her line uniquely collapses the binary of queenly concern with Church affairs and kingly concern with military matters into a single model of Church and state as one.

I have discussed previously how Margaret's presentation in her *Vita* is constructed through the careful synthesis of models of correct queenly behaviour.[52] There has been extensive discussion of Bower's *Scotichronicon* as a source of advice for princes – most notably Sally Mapstone's essay, 'Bower on Kingship', in which it is suggested that the *Scotichronicon*, written during the minority of James II, was in part written as an advice text to the young king, providing examples of good

[49] This scene is taken from Ælred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia*, from the *Vita* of David I. Bower nonetheless choses to present only Margaret as a saint, and David I as a virtuous king. See Chapter 3, p. 147.
[50] 'It was brought to Scotland by the devout Queen Margaret the mother of this king, who was descended from the seed of emperors and kings of the Hungarians and the English, and handed down by her to her sons as a family heirloom', vol. 3, pp. 162–3.
[51] MacNamara, '*Imitatio Helenae*', pp. 51–80, passim.
[52] See Chapter 2, passim.

and bad kingship for his guidance.[53] This seems indisputable. However, one element of the *Scotichronicon* that has received no critical attention is its representation of models of queenship, and the role Margaret has to play within this as the model of an ideal queen. Medieval thought tended to polarise women into the virtuous and the sinful, based on the biblical opposition that no man was as evil as Eve, but no man was as good as the Virgin Mary.[54] Bower displays a similar divisiveness between good and bad women, with Margaret as the pinnacle of both womanhood and queenship.[55]

Bower's emphasis on ideal kingship and queenship in the section concerned with Margaret's life is evident in the omissions he makes as he takes material from Margaret's *Vita*. He cites Turgot as his source, but is careful to present Margaret as deferential and Malcolm as equal in charity with his wife. Bower underplays Margaret's literacy and learned authority over Malcolm, but he does include the fact that Malcolm was 'pocius votis eius et prudentibus consiliis per omnia celerius properabat obediare. Que eciam ipsa respuerat, eadem et ipse respuere; et que amabat, amore amoris illius amare'.[56] Malcolm even appears as 'ignarus[…]literarum' ('ignorant of this letters') as he does in Turgot's *Vita*.[57] However, Bower omits Margaret's Church reform, thereby downplaying the political and material changes his source account shows her making to the kingdom over which she was queen. Bower makes little explicit comment himself, but much can

[53] Mapstone, 'Bower on Kingship', p. 321–38.
[54] Mary Newman Williams and Anne Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1994), p. 3.
[55] Insofar as Bower presents models of and offers judgement on good and bad kings, he does so for good and bad queens as well. For example, he condemns Eleanor of Aquitane, writing that '[n]on tamquam regina se gerebat sed fere tamquam meretrix' ('she behaved not like a queen but almost like a whore'), resulting in 'discordia' ('discord') in the nation over which she ruled, vol. 5, pp. 20–1. She is a clear example of a wilful woman, giving into her sexual desires and behaving according to personal rather than political motivations. Eleanor's various marriages and affairs, conducted according to her personal desires, make an appropriate counterpoint to Margaret's dutiful marriage, 'magis suorum quam sua voluntate, ymmo Dei ordinacione,' ('more in accordance with the wishes of her people than her own desire, or rather at God's command'), vol. 3, pp. 52–3.
[56] 'eager to obey her requests and wise counsels promptly in all respects. What she rejected, he also rejected: and what she loved, he loved from love of her love', vol. 3, pp. 70–1.
[57] vol. 3, pp. 70–1.

be gleaned of his outlook and aims in writing through attention to which episodes he chose to leave out and which to include.[58] Certainly, in his treatment of Malcolm and Margaret's marriage, Bower is careful to include just those parts of Turgot's account that fit with the message he is trying to derive from history. Margaret is still a virtuous wife who fits the maxim '[p]er mulierem fidelem sanctificabitur vir infedelis' ('[t]hrough his Christian wife a heathen man is sanctified'), but she makes no real ecclesiastical or legislative changes to the fabric of the Scottish kingdom.[59] This is all the more striking when we consider that Bower likely used the Dunfermline version of Turgot's *Vita*, in some form, as a source. The 'Dunfermline' *Vita* dwells at length on the legal reforms Malcolm undertook at Margaret's suggestion in particular.[60] Yet Bower chooses not to include those sections that present this degree of active involvement in the politics of the realm as a facet of ideal queenship.

As with the Dunfermline version of the *Vita*, Bower represents Malcolm and Margaret as an ideal royal pair. Bower introduces his section on Margaret's positive influence by writing '[d]e illius magnifici regis Malcolmi et regine virtutum operibus et elemosinarum largicione, sicut in Legenda vite beate regine Turgotus testatur, hic aliqua breviter recitabo'.[61] Worthy of note is the fact that Malcolm is mentioned by name and Margaret appears simply as 'regine' ('his queen'); Margaret is subordinate, and the charity is the work of a royal couple. Significant, also, is Bower's elision of the more political role Margaret is represented as playing during her lifetime in Turgot's *Vita*, which is illustrative of Bower's generally ambiguous attitude towards politically

[58] Watt, 'Bower the Chronicler', p. 320.
[59] vol. 3, pp. 70–1.
[60] Bower had access to the Dunfermline version of the *Vita* and *Miracula*, perhaps in a manuscript like the Dunfermline manuscript, now Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2017, discussed in Chapter 4. Watt, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, pp. 238, 240, 242.
[61] 'I shall at this point deal briefly with some of the virtuous works and almsgiving of that magnificent king Malcolm and his queen, as Turgot testifies in the Legend of the life of the blessed queen', vol. 3, pp. 70–1.

active women. It is also reflective of the stated audience. The *Scotichronicon* is a history book for Scots, and invested in presenting its own native king as being just as virtuous as his foreign wife.

Margaret the Saint

The account of Margaret's death is essentially identical to that given by Turgot and serves similarly to reiterate the hagiographic tropes that construct and confirm Margaret's sanctity.[62] It is in his accounts of Margaret after her death that Bower synthesises the accounts of select miracles found in the Dunfermline *Miracula* with the historical record to create a peculiarly political and emphatically Scottish saint to fit his ideological needs.[63]

While the *Scotichronicon* references Margaret after her death through the genealogies of her ancestors, the first significant posthumous appearance is in the account of the translation of her relics. Margaret's relics were apparently translated twice, but the earlier instance is not recorded by Bower since it has no political significance.[64] Margaret's second translation is important in two regards: first, in locating her sacred remains at the royal site at Dunfermline, and second, which I will focus on here, in repositioning Margaret as subordinate to Malcolm, while glorifying both monarchs as the origin points of a dynasty of Scottish kings. Bower's source for this story is unknown.[65] The Dunfermline *Miracula* relates three miracles on the night of an earlier translation but does not include the 1250 translation despite containing the later Battle of Largs miracle dated to 1263. This episode is particularly significant since Bower expands upon Fordun's account, which relates Margaret's 1250 translation only very briefly in its annals, where it is

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[62] Margaret forsees her death, makes a confession and takes a final mass before dying peacefully and comitting herself to the hands of God. See Turgot's *Vita*, pp. 250–4.

[63] Madrid, Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097, ff. 26r–41v. These have reently been edited and translated by Robert Bartlett: *The Miracles of St Æbbe of Coldingham and St Margaret of Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), pp. 69–145. For a full discussion of Margaret's *Miracula* and the Dunfermline manuscript, see Chapter 4.

[64] Coll-Smith, 'Chronicle to Liturgy', p. 154.

[65] Of this episode, Watt says that it is 'presumably drawn from a Dunfermline source', but there is none extant. *Scotichronicon*, vol. 5, p. 442.

placed alongside Alexander III's establishment as king. For Fordun, this was a very minor detail, positioned to remind us of Alexander's distinguished heritage. For Bower, it offered the opportunity for a powerful avowal of the primacy of Scottish kingship.[66]

The account begins in a manner typical of hagiographical translation stories. For instance, when Margaret's tomb is opened, her body is found uncorrupted and 'tantus odor suavissimusque effusus est ut totum illud sanctuarium specierum pigmentariis et vernancium florum odoribus respersum putaretur'.[67] Problems arise, however, when the men attempt to carry Margaret's remains to the casket of gold prepared as their new resting-place:

> deportaretur usque ad cencellariariam portam corpori viri sui regis Malcolmi jacentis sub testudine archuali a parte boreali navis ecclesie eque oppositam, brachia mox ferencium reddebantur stupida, et preponderis gravitudine ulterius non poterant feretrum cum reliquiis amovere.[68]

It is only then that a bystander speaks with a seemingly divinely-inspired voice, and says that 'non esse forte voluntatis divine ut ossa sacre regine antea transferantur quam viri sui bustum aperiatur et corpus eius simili honore sublimetur'.[69] The apparent voice of God demands that the

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[66] Annal XLIX 'Anno quoque secundo regis Alexandri tertii, xiii kalendas Julii, convenerunt apud Dunfermlyn idem rex et regina mater ejus, cum episcopis et abbatibus, comitibus, et baronibus, et aliis viris honestis, tam clericis quam laicis, in magna multitundine, et ossa beatae Margaretae, Scotorum quondam reginae, de monument lapideo, in quo per multa annorum curricula quieverunt, honorifice levaverunt, et in scrinio abiegeno, auro gemmisque perciosis redimito, cum summa devotione collocaverunt' ('Again, in the second year of King Alexander III., on the 19th of June 1250, this king, and the queen his mother, with bishops and abbots, earls and barons, and other good men, both clerics and laymen, in great numbers, met at Dunfermline, and took up, in great state, the bones of the blessed Margaret, sometime queen of Scots, out of the stone monument where they had lain through a long course of years; and these they laid, with the deepest devoutness, in a shrine of deal, set with gold and precious stones'), Latin: vol. 1, p. 295; English: vol. 2, p. 290–1.

[67] 'such an intense and sweet-smelling fragrance poured from it that men thought that the entire sanctuary had been sprinkled with the fragrance of spices and the scents of flowers in full bloom', vol. 5, pp. 296–7. This trope is common in hagiography since it is reminiscent of the first Easter, and thereby links the saint with Christ. For further discussion, see Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000–1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), p. 169.

[68] '[t]hey got as far as the chancel door just opposite the body of Margaret's husband, King Malcolm, which lay under an arched roof on the north side of the nave, when all at once the arms of the bearers became paralyzed, and because of the great weight they were unable to move the shrine which held the remains', vol. 5, pp. 296–7.

[69] 'it was perhaps not God's will that the bones of the holy queen be translated before her husband's tomb had been opened, and his body raised and honoured in the same way', vol. 5, pp. 296–7.

saint follow the King of Scots, performing in no uncertain terms the precedence of a Scottish king over his English queen, no matter her status as saint. In this moment, Bower's Margaret expresses a desire to be deferential and faithful to her husband, and by extension, the kingdom of Scotland itself.[70]

There are several important elements to this. The first of these is the difference in power dynamics within the marriage in comparison with the representation of Margaret and Malcolm's relationship in Turgot's *Vita*, especially the earlier Cotton version.[71] In the *Vita*, Margaret has a special grace from God and an authority over Malcolm based in her spiritual superiority. Bower's Margaret seems to be more deferential and Bower's narrative upholds a normative gender hierarchy. It seems likely that this is because of the intended (or stated) audience: Bower's *Scotichronicon* identifies itself as a history of the Scottish people for the Scottish people. They would perhaps take less kindly to one of their past kings being represented as deferential to his Anglo-Saxon wife. In addition, within Bower's text, this episode reinforces the idea that kingship is sacred. The rightful king is blessed by God to such an extent that he deserves to be honoured above a saint. For Turgot, Margaret's status as a saint and her closeness to God allow her to have an authority over her husband; for Bower, the authority of king and husband persists even after death and exceeds even that of a saint.

Bower furthermore strategically places this episode in his chronicle to suggest an unbroken line of divinely-appointed Scottish kings, placing it between the inauguration of the eight-year-old Alexander III in 1249 and his later marriage to the daughter of the English King Henry III, also

[70] Coll-Smith, 'Chronicle to Liturgy', p. 151. See also Chapter 2. Margaret's subordination to male authority within the church space here is further reminiscent of the Laurencekirk foundation-legend discussed in Chapter 3, p. 161. Kate Ash describes Margaret as acting, unusually, as a 'good wife' saint here, ceding authority to her husband: 'St Margaret and the Literary Politics of Scottish Sainthood', in *Sanctity as Literature in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Eva von Contzen and Anke Bernau (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 18–37, (p. 26).
[71] See Chapter 2, p. 101.

named Margaret. The inauguration of Alexander III episode contains a recitation of the young king's genealogy, linking him back to Scotland's mythic founders Gaythelos and Scota, yet again placing Margaret in parallel with Scota. The royal dynasty emblematises the *Gens Scottorum* and the fiction of an unbroken line of royal succession bolsters the vision of a unified people, belonging to the land in which they live.[72] Just like the king-list in the Dunfermline manuscript, Bower's inauguration scene – and its placing – offers the fiction of an unbroken and seamless line of succession against the backdrop of a political climate that is infinitely more complex.[73] Bower's inauguration scene seems to suggest that Alexander III would continue Malcom and Margaret's line. That this did not come about was a fact of history that Bower well knew. Alexander III died in 1289 without a male heir, and his closest relative, Margaret, Maid of Norway – whose very name speaks of the desire to link the ruling line with their saintly ancestor – died on her journey to Scotland, ending the royal line that Margaret and Malcolm had begun. Margaret, Maid of Norway's death precipitated a struggle for the Scottish throne which ultimately resulted in the Wars of Independence, during which first Edward I, then Edward II, of England sought to wrest independent sovereignty from Scotland and bring it under English control. In the placing of these two episodes side-by-side, Margaret links the past with the future just as she links church and state, and goes some way to bridging this genealogical gap, at least in ideological terms.

Bower further develops these powerful ideological associations with Margaret in Book X, when he describes how Margaret appeared in a vision to John Wemyss on the eve of the Battle of Largs. During this battle, fought on the 2nd October 1263, Margaret protects the Scottish right to an area of land on Scotland's western seaboard over which the Norwegians, led by King Haakon of Norway, also claimed ownership. Bower's source for this episode was the Dunfermline

[72] Boardman, 'Matter of Britain', p. 47.
[73] See Chapter 4, p. 173.

Miracula. Despite Margaret's unusual representation here as a military leader, obeyed and followed by her husband and sons, Bower incorporates this miracle into his chronicle with few changes.

The episode begins with the vision of a sick and aged knight, John Wemyss, who dreams that he is standing at the door of Dunfermline Abbey church when Margaret appears to him, leading a party of knights out to defend her country. At first, Wemyss is unsure of her identity, seeing a woman in royal clothing: '[q]ue in manu dextra militem ducebat procerimum, fulgentibus armis indutum, gladio militari accinctum, et cum casside coronata redimitum'.[74] The other figures only appear as knights: it is Margaret alone who bears 'omn[is] regio […] insignitam' ('all the regalia of royalty').[75] Margaret then proceeds to identify herself by name and make clear the purpose of her vision:

> 'Ego sum,' inquit, 'Margarita olim Scotorum regina. Miles manuductus dominus est Malcolmus meus rex maritus, et hii sequaces milites nostri sunt filii huius eciam regni dum vixissent inclitissimi reges, cum quibus ad Largis patriam defensura propero, victoriam actura de tiranno qui regnum meum suo nititur et injuste subjugare domino. Nam michi ut scias hoc regnum a Deo accepi commendatum et heredibus nostris imperpetuum.[76]

Uniquely in Bower's chronicle, here a queen is more prominent than kings: Malcolm is 'manuductus' (lit. 'led by hand') by Margaret and her sons follow behind her. Margaret alone speaks, and identifies only herself and Malcolm. She furthermore calls Scotland 'regnum meum' – '*my* kingdom' – rather than 'our kingdom'. The later plural 'nostris' in the final clause – 'heredibus nostris' ('our heirs') – thus may well be a royal 'we'. Indeed, Watt gives a translation of

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[74] '[s]he was leading on her right arm a distinguished-looking knight, clad in gleaming armour, girded with a sword of a knight, and wearing a helmet with a crown on it', vol. 5, pp. 336–7.
[75] vol. 5, pp. 336–7.
[76] 'I am Margaret, formerly queen of Scots. The knight who has my arm is the lord king Malcolm my husband, and these knights who are following us are our sons, the most renowned kings of this realm while they lived. In company with them I am hurrying to defend our country at Largs, and to win a victory over the usurper who is unjustly trying to make my kingdom subject to his rule. For you must know that I received this kingdom from God, granted in trust to me and to our heirs forever', vol. 5, pp. 336–8.

'me and my heirs' rather than 'our heirs'. Margaret is obviously a queen, but though Malcolm is 'coronata', he and their sons are only immediately identifiable as 'miles' – knights or soldiers. It is Margaret's words that reveal their royal identity. Margaret alone appears conspicuously royal: 'regina' among 'miles'. Malcolm and their sons seem to become indistinguishable from one another, appearing more as representatives of the King of Scots' duty to provide military protection. Their representation as 'miles' furthermore reflects their place in the saint/queen, warrior/king division of royal labour and as a group led by Margaret they form an image of ideal rule. The Queen, with the authority of the Church, directs the military efforts of the men. Once again, Margaret's supernatural involvement underscores her devotion to the kingdom over which she was queen. Margaret's promise of intercession, and the fulfilment of this promise in the form of a military victory, demonstrates her unswerving and undoubtable loyalty to Scotland, regardless of her English birth.[77] It is perhaps for this reason – to demonstrate Margaret's utter fidelity to Scotland – that Bower chooses to include a miracle in which a party of former Kings of Scots are led by a woman.

The military victory effected by Margaret's saintly intercession is not the only miracle in this episode. Her restoration of the Scottish body politic through the victory at Largs is coupled with the healing of Wemyss' sick and aged body at her Dunfermline tomb. The vision inspires Wemyss to travel to Dunfermline, though this is difficult for him: he 'certabat contra naturam suam homo impotens, certabat contra suorum consilium'.[78] Upon his arrival, Wemyss seeks the advice of the prior of Dunfermline in interpreting the dream. The prior confirms, in a manner that recalls Macrobius, that 'nec tale sompnium quo sepe diludimur extitit, sed celitus ostensum

[77] Coll-Smith, 'Chronicle to Liturgy', p. 150.
[78] '[he] struggled against his own constitution and against the advice of his men', vol. 5, pp. 338–9.

ut exitus se habuit'.[79] Wemyss then visits Margaret's shrine. As he shows his devotion by showering Margaret's physical remains with tears and kisses, he is miraculously healed. It is in this moment that 'ecce venit famulus boni nuncio baiulus referens modum victorie apud Largus comisse'.[80] Wemyss' physical recovery completes the miracle and '[affirms] both the providential favour of Scotland and Margaret's intercessory powers'.[81] Both the healing of Wemyss and the protection of Scotland are furthermore anchored to the physical location of Margaret's tomb at Dunfermline, making it the centre both of Margaret's healing power and Scotland's body politic, suggesting the same confluence of powerful signifiers as in the Dunfermline manuscript: Dunfermline is saint's shrine and abbey, royal mausoleum and political centre.[82] The site, like Margaret, here functions as a symbol of the unity of church and state.

Bower dates the Battle of Largs 'in festo Nativitatis Beate Marie', which is celebrated on September 8th, not 2nd October, when the battle actually occurred.[83] This might simply be an error, but it may well be Bower's way of suggesting a link between Margaret and the Virgin Mary. Certainly in the Largs episode itself Margaret does appear in a role reminiscent of that of the Virgin Mary, interceding with God on Scotland's behalf and acting as a holy mother.

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[79] 'this is not the sort of dream by which we are often deluded, but one revealed by heaven, as the outcome showed', vol. 5, pp. 338–9. That is, according to the different types of dreams as outlined by Macrobius in his *Somnium Scipionis* (The Dream of Scipio). Macrobius divides dreams into five types: (l) the *somnium* or enigmatic dream, (2) the *visio* or prophetic dream, (3) the oracular dream, (4) the *insomnium* or nightmare, and (5) the *visum* or apparition in a dream. The first three are prophetic in that they point to future events.

[80] 'suddenly a servant came in, the bringer of good news of the victory just won at Largs', vol. 5, pp. 338–9.

[81] Kylie Murray, 'Dream and Vision in Scotland, c.1375–1500' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2012), p. 166. Murray also notes that Bower credits Waldef of Melrose with a vision in which he sees the Christ-child in his arms, which itself forms an analogue with the *Miracula* of St Ninian. As with Wemyss' vision of Margaret, divine and sovereign authority combine through the representation of a member (albeit in Waldef's case, by marriage) of the Scottish royal family in a divinely-inspired vision, pp. 159–66.

[82] See Chapter 4.

[83] 'on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', vol. 5, pp. 338–9.

Bower's language in this episode also returns to the Virgilian narrative of destined empire suggested at Margaret's arrival. Margaret calls Scotland her 'patriam' ('fatherland'), though she was not born there. Likewise, the *Aeneid* refers to Italy as Aeneas' 'patriam', though he was born in Troy.[84] In both cases, this refers to a land presented as belonging to the ruler's heirs, not the land of their birth, despite the connotations of the word 'patriam' itself. Bower drew on Virgil's *Aeneid* elsewhere in the *Scotichronicon*, constructing a narrative tailored to compete with English Trojan originary legends and the contemporary idea of London as a 'New Troy', and construct Scotland, not England, as the inheritor of that destined empire.[85] Margaret appears here at a time of national need in order to defend the land of her descendants, the 'patriam' entrusted to her and her heirs, against foreign invaders. The Norwegian king is specifically identified as 'tiranno' ('a tyrant') and his claim on the land as 'injuste' ('unjust'). This all feeds into the pseudo-Virgilian narrative of Scotland as the rightful homeland of the Scots.[86] This combines with Bower's continued representation of Margaret as an analogue for Scota to form a powerful articulation of hereditary right. The Scota legend makes Scotland the promised land of the Scots after the pattern of Italy as the destined home of the Trojan exiles in the *Aeneid*, and ties Scotland to the cycle of *translatio imperii*.[87] Margaret expresses the will of God in this matter insofar as God and Margaret act in tandem to protect Scotland from the Norweigian forces: 'nutu Dei et meritis Sancte Margarite regine regni Scocie protectricis, ispo die belli orta est in mari validissima

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[84] For example, *Aeneid* IV, line 347. As in Book VI of the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas' father in the underworld gives him a message for the future Romans: 'tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento/ (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos' (851–3), ('you, Roman, be sure to rule the world (these be your arts) to crown peace with justice, to spare the vanquished and to crush the proud'). Margaret's speech here reflects the same sentiments: that there are a certain people who are the just rulers, and that the proud – in Margaret's case the attempted usurper King Haakon of Norway – should be 'crush[ed]'. *Virgil: Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1–6*, ed. and trans. by H.R. Fairclough and G.P. Goold (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[85] Sylvia Federico, *New Troy: Fantasies of Empire in the Late Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 56. Brutus, fleeing the ruins of Troy, was supposed to have founded London as a 'New Troy'.

[86] Medieval thought emphasised that every people had a divinely-appointed homeland. Broun, 'Birth of Scottish History', p. 11.

[87] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 73–5.

tempestas' that destroyed the Norwegian ships.[88] Margaret is 'regine regni Scocie protectricis' ('the queen and protectoress of the realm of Scotland') from beyond the grave. As a saint, she ensures God's will is done, and for Bower that will is that Scotland should maintain its independence. Margaret's link with the mythic past further serves to remind the reader of the narrative of Scotland's ancient origin and independence from the earliest times. Bower, and Fordun before him, wanted to present a Scottish nation with a long history rooted in the mythic past. Bower's use of the Trojan legend throughout his chronicle, but especially at a point where Scotland's dead kings, led by Margaret, are mobilising to defend their country, challenges earlier English chronicles that draw on the same stock of originary material, and refashions it to position Scotland as the inheritor of a – particularly European – destined *imperium* and legitimately independent on account of this. Margaret leads her family – her husband and sons – suggesting a line of unbroken kingship.[89] The ancient past and the approval of a Church-sanctioned saint – and by extension God – overlap in a powerful assertion of national sovereignty, with Margaret at its centre.

History and Myth

One issue that recurs in criticism of Bower and is pertinent to his representation of Margaret is his incorporation of legend and the supernatural into his account. Watt expresses surprise that, '[i]ntellectual as he was, Bower still accepted the Scota myth without question'.[90] However, I would argue that with Margaret, as with Scota, Bower is more concerned with the truth of Scottish sovereignty as portrayed symbolically, rather than exact factual accuracy. An apt parallel to this is Keene's idea of 'hagiographical truth': we might consider that there is an element of

[88] 'by the will of God and through the merits of St Margaret the queen and protectoress of the realm of Scotland, on the very day of the battle a most severe gale arose on the sea', vol. 5, pp. 338–41.
[89] The image of Margaret leading her husband and sons behind her like a catalogue of Kings of Scots also recalls the passage from Aeneid VI in which Aeneas is shown a vision in the underworld of Roman Emperors to come, lines 756–853.
[90] Watt, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, p. 318.

'historiographical truth' conveyed both by the Scota myth and by Margaret's supernatural intervention from beyond the grave on the behalf of the Scottish nation.[91] While this is not entirely consistent with our modern idea of history as a factual account, we ought to consider the circumstances of Bower writing his *Scotichronicon*, and what 'truth' he might be trying to convey through his use of myth. Much of the early legend he uses is drawn from Fordun, whose 'full-scale history was, in some sense, the culmination of arguments which went back almost to the beginnings of Scottish resistance to Edward I'.[92] Fordun was in part motivated by a need to construct a national myth that would support the idea of Scottish sovereignty, a cause for which Margaret offered a particularly attractive focal point.

Several historians have commented on the context of Fordun's composition of his chronicle, in the setting of a 'war of historiography' with Edward I in which the deployment of mythic history to support each nation's right to land became key.[93] The legend of Scota appears to be older than Fordun, and to have links with early Irish originary mythology, but Fordun's account is the earliest surviving complete account of Scota.[94] Bower's incorporation of this myth into his comprehensive history of the Scots further draws it into a legitimated and legitimising discourse of Scottish history. This is particularly essential to the idea of Scottish independent sovereignty. The narrative continuity of history was essential to sanction kingship. '[T]he highest secular authority was given substance in the minds of the learned and their audiences […] by the articulation of a sustained narrative of kingship, rooting it in the deep past, and creating an expectation that it would exist in the future', and Scotland lacked this in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[95] As outlined above, the myth of Gaythelos and Scota was constructed as a rival myth

[91] Keene, *St Margaret*, p. 4.
[92] Webster, 'Independent Identity', p. 91.
[93] Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*, pp. 23–103.
[94] Kennedy, 'King-Lists', p. 162. See also: Broun, *Irish Identity*, p. 12; Webster, 'Independent Identity', p. 85.
[95] Broun, *Irish Identity*, p. 215.

of origin to the English myth that Brutus founded Britain.[96] It was essential to the assertion of Scottish sovereignty to make Scotland likewise an old, unconquered nation.[97] However, it seems rather that, for Bower, Scottish national identity inheres in a matriarchal as well as a patriarchal manner: perhaps even more so, since they draw their name from a founding mother, Scota, as opposed to the Britons, who draw their name from the founding father, Brutus.[98] As the mother of a line of Scottish kings, Margaret is thus a fitting choice as a focal point for Scottish nationality despite her Anglo-Saxon and Hungarian background.[99] This unbroken line of Scottish monarchs stems from an ideal mother who was both pious and spiritual, and who possessed the earthly – and indeed queenly – virtue of abundant fertility. Interesting, also, is how Scottish nationhood appears to adhere more readily to these female figures, Scota and St Margaret, than to any male figure. The idea of the mother of a nation – or a dynasty, in Margaret's case – is reminiscent of Celtic myths of the sovereignty goddess.[100] Furthermore, Margaret's sainthood locates this legitimating power of the female-founder-cum-sovereignty figure within a Roman church orthodoxy, providing a further level of authority. Malcolm's marriage with a woman blessed by God expresses simultaneously his rightful and righteous kingship, and both Margaret and Scota carry elements of the Sovereignty Goddess and mother of the nation. Bower thus weaves these elements together to make Margaret the focal point of his argument for Scottish

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96 Although this appears to have been invented simply to compete with the English myth of origin, the Gaythelos and Scota myth was nonetheless 'part of the common currency of Scottish belief' when Bower was writing. See D. E. R. Watt, 'Editing Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon*', in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature (Medieval and Renaissance)*, ed. by R. J. Lyall and F. Riddy (University of Stirling Press: Stirling and Glasgow, 1981), pp. 161–76, (p. 163).

97 Though referred to as 'myths' of origin, these stories owe little to collective memory or folk legend, but are instead politically motivated, and invested in establishing the idea of a particular 'people' with a common line of descent. This is discussed more fully by Susan Reynolds in her monograph *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Webster, 'Independent Identity', pp. 85–102, passim.

98 Bede credits the Picts with a matrilineal system of succession, which offers an intriguing history for the idea of the founder-mother. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 11. See also Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain from the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 72.

99 See Introduction, fn. 4 for discussion of Agatha's identity.

100 The sovereignty goddess was a figure from pre-Christian Celtic legends popular in Ireland and Wales. The sovereignty goddess would only consent to be the consort of the rightful king, and union with her represented union with the land. For further discussion on this, see Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, *An Introduction to Early Irish Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 93–111.

sovereignty. Margaret not only represents God's divine protection of Scotland, but his protection of Scotland as Bower believes it should be – with Church and state united.

The *Liber Pluscardensis*

The *Scotichronicon* influenced many historical and literary texts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[101] The *Liber Pluscardensis* is a late-fifteenth-century (*c.*1461) abbreviation and continuation of Bower's *Scotichronicon* written at Pluscarden, a Valliscaulian Priory founded by Alexander II in 1230.[102] It is largely based on Bower's chronicle, but does also contain some of the chronicler's own eyewitness accounts.[103] The first five chapters follow Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* closely, according to how it is preserved in Bower. It also contains fifteen heavily abridged chapters (9–23) of Bower's Book VI, and includes Bower's own annotations as to where he borrowed material from Fordun's work. Tantalisingly, the author promises to give us his name at the end of the sixth book, but does not, and it is not recorded anywhere else in the text.

The *Liber Pluscardensis* was most probably produced in Morayshire after Pluscarden Abbey had joined with Dunfermline between 1455 and 1461.[104] It might even have been the case that Dunfermline Abbey lent the compiler of the *Liber Pluscardensis* the copy of the *Scotichronicon* that was its source.[105] As an abbreviation of Bower's long *Scotichronicon*, the *Liber Pluscardensis* cuts many episodes whilst maintaining a sharp focus on Margaret. We can, however, detect the

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101 Mapstone, 'First Readers', p. 40.
102 For a full discussion of the six manuscripts and potential dating see *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. and trans. by Felix J.H. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1871–2), vol. 1, p. x–xvi. All subsequent references are to this edition. Its composition and compilation predates the completion of the *Scotichronicon* on account of the fact that it was likely copied and complied from early drafts. See also: Watt, 'Editing Walter Bower', p. 168; Drexler, 'Abridgements', pp. 62–7, esp. pp. 63–4.
103 Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, vol. 1, p. ix.
104 It seems that the original manuscript of the *Liber Pluscardensis* no longer survives. For manuscripts and dating of *Liber Pluscardensis*, see Sally Mapstone, 'The Wisdom of Princes' (Forthcoming). I am grateful to my supervisor, Emily Wingfield, for sharing this material with me.
105 Mapstone, 'Wisdom of Princes'.

compiler's focus on a particular aspect of the textual representation of Margaret in the *Liber Pluscardensis* in the elements the chronicler chooses to leave out and what they choose to include. In general, while heavy emphasis is placed on the fact that Margaret was a saint, and she is referred to as 'sancte Margarite' throughout the *Liber*, hagiographical references are excised from the *Liber Pluscardensis* and the representation of Margaret is as a perfect queen and mother to a great dynasty. The *Liber Pluscardensis*, though it quotes from Turgot, as Bower does in his *Scotichronicon*, omits the account of Margaret's specific acts of charity (feeding the poor), her association with books and literacy, the miracle of her gospel-book, and her appearance in the vision of the Battle of Largs. The hagiographical elements of the literary representation of Margaret in Bower are suppressed in the *Liber Pluscardensis* in favour of her political role.

Although the account of Margaret is drastically shortened, certain details are left in. These are: the naming of St Margaret's Bay after Margaret's landing there, the emphasis on Margaret's royal lineage, the children that followed after her, and, in the only episode that links to her sainthood as well as her queenship, her saintly death.[106] Both of the elements that link Margaret most closely to the land of Scotland remain: Margaret's toponymical link to St Margaret's Bay, and her death in Scotland – which reminds the reader of her burial site in Dunfermline. Margaret the woman might have been raised in Hungary, but Margaret the saint is entirely aligned and united with the land of Scotland, as well as the bloodline of the ruling dynasty. Many of the details of Margaret's life that are included in Turgot's account are left out. The *Liber Pluscardensis* states that it lifts the account of Margaret's landing in Scotland and her marriage to Malcolm from 'turgotus'. This could simply be because Bower makes this explicit reference as well, and could therefore not represent a choice to minimise attention on the more detailed aspects of Margaret's

[106] There is no current edition of the portion of the *Liber Pluscardensis* that relates the events of Margaret's life (Book V, Chapters xiiii–xxi). It is worth nothing that, although the founding of Dunfermline is mentioned, this is attributed to Malcolm, not to Margaret: Skene, *Liber Pluscardensis*, vol. 1, p. xlv.

charitable works while she lived, and the miracle of her gospel-book. However, there is one alteration made to the account in Bower:

> (et) imp(er)ialio ge(n)ita(m) e(ss)e didic(er)at ut ea(m) i(n) uxore(m) duc(er)et peciit (et) optinuit trade(n)te aute(m) ea(m) edgaro ethelin(g) fra(tre) suo mag(is)suoru(m) (quam) sua volu(n)tate y(m)mo poti(us) divi(n)a disponsitor(um) na(m) sicut hest(er) assuero regi (pro) suor(um) sal(u)te (con)iviu(m) divina provide(n)cia ita (et) (hec) illust(ri)ssimo regi malcolmo cap(u)lata fuit (con)iugiu(m) nec t(ame)n quasi captiva ym(m)o m(u)ltis habu(n)da(n)s divitiis, quas p(atrem) suo edwardo ta(m)q(am) heredi rex anglie suu(s) patru(us)pri(us) ded(er)at.[107]
>
> (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 8)

Because the later section that makes reference to Esther is cut, the author of the *Liber Pluscardensis* adds it here. The reference to Esther is not in this section in Bower. Nor does Bower quote the section comparing Margaret to Esther from Turgot's text. From this, we might suspect that the author of the *Liber Pluscardensis* had access to a full version of Turgot's *Vita* – probably in its Dunfermline version – and decided that a significant omission from the section they had chosen to copy was Margaret's likeness to Esther. This could be because Esther was a popular model for queenship, but it seems to me that if the author of the *Liber Plucardensis* is deliberately adding to his source material that Margaret is 'sicut hester' ('just like Esther'), then this is because they have a copy of Margaret's *Vita* – most likely the Dunfermline version – and think that this is an important element that has been left out. It is not surprising in a text that puts such heavy emphasis on models of kingship that emphasis should fall on the model of Esther, an ideal

[107] 'And when he learned that she was of Imperial stock, he sought to have her as his wife, and was granted his request by her brother Edgar Ætheling, although this was more according to the wishes of her people than her own – no, indeed, by the will of God. For just as Esther was with King Ahasuerus, she was joined in marriage to this most noble King Malcolm – not, however, as a captive, but having a great abundance of riches herself, which had been previously given to her by her father, Edward, himself the heir of the English king.' I have quoted from MS Fairfax 8 because there is currently no edition of the first five and a half books of the *Liber Pluscardensis*. The translation and transcription are my own. It should, however, be noted that this passage appears in a similar form in the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* as edited by Skene (p. 213), who chose not to edit the first five and a half books of the *Liber Pluscardensis* on account of their similarity.

queen.[108] Moreover, this demonstrates that even in this abbreviated and more politically-focused continuation of Bower, Margaret's virtuous example and her symbolic valence as queen and saint are important and still in use as a model of ideal queenship and good governance. The emphatic legitimacy of Margaret's rulership is extended to her descendants in the subsequent books, where Norman right to rule is explicitly constructed as derived from Margaret, making the right to rule of the kings of England dependent on a Queen of Scots.

The *Liber Extravagans*

In several of the manuscripts of Bower, the chronicle is supplemented by the *Liber Extravagans* (1304–1306), a selection of poetic material that may well have been composed much earlier.[109] The three poems that comprise the *Liber Extravagans* have a sustained and obvious political agenda, and it is easy to imagine why it might be read and compiled alongside the *Scotichronicon*. It is focused on the narrative of Scotland as an unconquered nation (in comparison with England, which has been conquered by the Normans, among others). The *Liber Extravagans* focuses on Margaret as mother of a dynasty of kings and focuses on the Scots as a race rather than as the inhabitants of a certain place. The first of the poems, the 'Scottish Poem', begins with the assertion that '[q]uisque loqui gaudet validus de sanguine puro' ('[e]ach man rejoices, taking strength from his pure ancestry').[110] This complements Bower's pervasive theme of Scotland as an unconquered nation, pure in the right to its land. More specifically, emphasis falls on Margaret's bloodline, and its power and purity. Margaret herself becomes an important focal point, a nexus where the Scottish and English royal lines meet, beginning a great and destined

[108] Oxford, Bodelian Library, MS Fairfax 8 also contains a poem likening a well-governed kingdom to a well-tuned harp. For discussion of this image, see R.J. Lyall, 'Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 3 (1976), 5–29, (p. 18).
[109] For details of these, see *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, pp. 54–5.
[110] 'The Scottish Poem' in 'The Liber Extravagans', in *Scotichronicon*, vol. 9, pp. 66–7.

dynasty of kings. The compiler describes it thus: '[n]unc stirps Scotigena, Saxonum sanguine mixta,/ cepit regnare'.[111]

As with Bower's Battle of Largs episode, the language of this episode is reminiscent of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Here the phrasing recalls Virgil's description of Trojan and Latin bloodlines mixing in the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia:

> hic genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
> supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis (XII 838–9).[112]

Jupiter prophesies the rise of the Roman Empire from the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia in specific terms as one that mixes two bloods.[113] The implication of this parallel is that the joining of Malcolm and Margaret – and the royal bloodlines of the Scots and the Anglo-Saxons – heralds the coming of a destined empire as great as that begun when Trojan and Latin peoples and royal lines met in the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia.[114] Moreover, it echoes Bower's view that 'Scotland's royal dynasty properly consisted of Margaret's divinely blessed heirs', and the royal family begun with Malcolm and Margaret formed a special 'gens' ('people') who were divinely sanctioned to rule.[115]

The political weighting of this, grounding as it does Scottish sovereignty in an ancient and mythic narrative, is further evidenced by the choice of this episode in this very short chronicle, firmly placing Scotland within the narrative of *translatio imperii*. But the representation of Margaret also takes this a step further. Malcolm does not just consolidate his right to the land

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111 'Now a family of Scottish stock mingled with Saxon blood began to reign', pp. 72–3.
112 'From them shall arise a race, blended with Ausonian blood, which you will see overpass men, overpass the gods in loyalty.' *Aeneid, Books 7—12, Appendix Vergiliana*, ed. and trans. by H. R. Fairclough and G. P. Goold (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2000).
113 While it is impossible to know for sure, it seems that Bower was familiar with Virgil. According to Watt's notes, Fordun only takes one episode from Virgil – how King Evander was the founder of the city of Rome – whereas Bower draws on Virgil in several places; see vol. 9, p. 243.
114 The same parallel was put to political use by the author of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* in support of Emma of Normandy and Cnut's marriage. See Elizabeth Tyler, 'Fictions of Family: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* and Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Viator*, 36 (2005), pp. 149–79.
115 Boardman, 'Matter of Britain', p. 66.

through Margaret. Through her, their children are heirs to England as well, and the *Liber Extravagans* takes pains to make this explicit:

> Quos Margarita peperit regina beata,
> heres Anglorum regum, regina Scotorum.
> Ex hoc qui dubitat, Anglorum cronica querat,
> per quam conjugium Scotis prebetur in usum (150–3)[116]

The final poem in the *Liber Extravagans* even points out that 'Normannos jure cuius regnare putator' ('it is by [Margaret's] right that they Normans are thought to rule').[117] The legitimising power of Margaret's bloodline is further emphasised by the inclusion of genealogies that privilege Margaret as significant matriarch and origin-point. This is not a claim that is ever made explicitly in the *Scotichronicon*, but the copying of the *Liber Extravagans* – which makes such a claim – alongside Bower's chronicle, links the legitimating authority conferred by Margaret on the Scottish royal line with the challenge to the legitimacy of the Anglo-Norman royal line that she also embodies.[118] Margaret dominates the list of Scottish kings, is named as the source of the royal line in the rubric, and stands as testament that the kings of Scotland descended from her also have a claim to the English throne, perhaps more than those currently occupying it. The genealogical is also necessarily political, since dynastic lineage was commonly used to assert the power of a particular family. Perceptions of power, family connections and family patronage were constructed through the reading and writing of genealogies, so the emphasis on Margaret and her family role is deeply linked to the political purpose of bolstering the power and prestige of the Scottish royal family.[119]

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[116] 'Their mother was the blessed Queen Margaret, the heir of the kings of England and queen of Scots. May he who has doubts arising out of this, through whom marriage was given to the Scots as an established practice, consult the chronicles of the English', pp. 72–5.
[117] pp. 90–1.
[118] This is particularly evident in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; see Chapter 3, p. 119.
[119] Lesley Coote, 'Prophecy, Genealogy and History in Medieval English Political Discourse', in *Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Late-Medieval Britain and France*, ed. by Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 27–44, (p. 28).

These continuations of, and accompaniments to, Bower show how, in the period following Bower's work, Margaret was adopted not as a figure of religious devotion but as a powerful political icon. Margaret expresses the inborn sovereign right of the Scots to their land, and through her they could claim *imperii*, and even a right to the English throne. By this point Margaret's value as a propagandistic tool was clearly well-recognised and frequently deployed in support of Scottish independence. Margaret's continuing interest to readers of Fordun, Bower and the *Liber Pluscardensis* is borne out by the manuscript tradition, in which late medieval readers appear to have annotated the manuscripts, including the Pluscarden and the Coupar Angus manuscripts, with pointing hand signs over the appearances of Margaret. These annotations are furthermore post-reformation, and show that despite Margaret's association with the Roman Church as a saint, her political and dynastic role made her important and interesting long after these texts were written.[120]

Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle of Scotland*

Andrew of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* (1408–1420x4) is a vernacular verse chronicle in nine books relating the history of Scotland from the beginning of the world to the death of James I in 1437. Written for Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss, a landowner in Fife and constable of St Andrews Castle, it is 'a vernacular account of the history of the world and Scotland's place within it'.[121] As such, it is deeply concerned with Scottish affairs and, unlike the shorter prose chronicles discussed below – especially the *Vriae Chronique D'Escoce*, which has French interests at heart – takes less of a pan-European perspective than some of the other chronicles. Wyntoun himself was prior of St Serf's, Lochleven, and then canon of St Andrews. Nothing is known of his family background, his education or early career.[122] The *Original Chronicle* survives in nine manuscript

[120] Tod, 'Late Medieval Readers', p. 90 ff.
[121] C. Edington, 'Andrew of Wyntoun', *ODNB*, accessed 09.09.14
[122] Edington, 'Andrew of Wyntoun', accessed 09.09.14

versions, which represent three redactions, spanning the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.[123] My analysis will focus, unless stated otherwise, on the text as represented by London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero D xi.

Wyntoun does not appear to use Fordun as a source, but does seem to have been aware of at least the same stock of historical material. Wyntoun had as his sources texts such as *Foedera Angliae* and the *Register of the Priory of St Andrews* and seems to have quoted almost verbatim from these kinds of factual records, showing an attention to detail and a concern for accuracy.[124] Historical accuracy does not appear to be Wyntoun's chief concern, however, in his representation of Margaret and, in particular, Malcolm.

As in the Latin tradition that precedes him, Wyntoun grounded his history in Malcolm and Margaret's dynasty. In the Wemyss manuscript prologue, Wyntoun says that he aimed to:

> mak conclusion
> Off þe blessit gud lynnage
> That come of þe mariage
> Off Malcolme king of Scotland
> And Mergret aire till Yngland. (Prol. 27–32)[125]

But despite this opening statement, pinning the history of Scotland to Malcolm and Margaret's marriage, in comparison with the preceding tradition in Wyntoun's *Cronykil* as a whole, Margaret is conspicuous by her absence. She does still appear, but her role is as wife to Malcolm and mother to their children, and her importance is carefully and consistently sidelined in favour of the promotion of Malcolm as progenitor of a new dynasty of Scottish kings and ideal figure of kingship himself. In a chronicle where 'monarchs reign and die with almost comical efficiency',

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123 *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. by F.J. Amours, 6 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 1903–14), vol. 1, pp. lxi–lxvii. All references to the text will be from the Cotton MS as printed in this edition unless stated otherwise.

124 David Macpherson, 'Preface to the Edition of The Cronykil, 1795' in *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland be Androw of Wyntown*, ed. by David Laing, vol. 1 (Edinburgh 1872), p. xix. Although all citations from Wyntoun are from Amours' edition, there remains valuable material in Macpherson's preface.

125 The Wemyss manuscript is held in Wemyss Castle, Scotland.

Wyntoun dwells on the beginning of Malcolm's reign at great length.[126] This moment in history is clearly of the utmost importance to Wyntoun, but in it Margaret is little more than a reflection of or a tangent to Malcolm's importance as quasi-legendary origin figure. Margaret's deeds garner very little attention, and although her translation is discussed, her sanctity is subordinated to Malcolm's good kingship.

When Margaret is mentioned, her distinguished lineage is dwelt upon. This is traced back not to Edward the Confessor, but to the sons of Noah and to Woden:

> Now be þe Saxonys, or ȝe blyn,
> To rekkyn is Sancte Mergretis kyn.
> Þe laste end of þe fyrst buk
> Tellis, quha will it reide or luyk,
> In til a cleyr genealogy
> Doun discendande lyneally
> Fra Sem, þe eldast of þa thre,
> Þat war þe sonnys of Noye,
> Til þat lord was callyt Woden (VI 2327–35)

Wyntoun locates the origins of the current ruling dynasty in the biblical and mythical past, just like the 'Dunfermline' version of Margaret's *Vita*. Wyntoun goes further to suggest that Robert the Bruce is the direct descendant of Malcolm and Margaret:

> Fra Malcolme regnyt, þe tende persone
> Be discens lynalle ewyn downe
> Was Robert þe secunde, qwuil our kynge
> Þat Scotlande had in gouernynge. (VI 2314–7)

Once again we see a fictionalised genealogy aimed at creating the illusion of an unbroken line of succession. The line of descent is in fact not 'lynealle' at all between Malcolm and Robert II since the royal line begun with Malcolm and Margaret's marriage ended with the death of Margaret, Maid of Norway. This bolsters the idea of Scotland as a nation unchanged, unconquered and

[126] Rhiannon Purdie, 'Malcolm, Margaret, Macbeth and the Miller', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 41 (2015), 45–63, (p. 51).

unchallenged, where the 'lynealle' line of succession exemplifies and acts as metonym for the unbroken and unchallenged rule of the Scots in their own land.

But Wyntoun is not just concerned with Margaret's lineage. He deviates from the historical record to make Malcolm the new point of origin for the Scottish dynasty. Directly preceding Margaret's genealogy in Book VI, Wyntoun inserts a romance-like episode in which Duncan, Malcolm's father, comes across a miller's dwelling while wandering in the woods, is welcomed in for food and drink and spends the night with the miller's daughter, thus conceiving Malcolm.[127] Wyntoun even says that Duncan has 'twa sonnys of lauchfull bed' (VI 1635), further emphasising how Malcolm's conception represents a break in the line of succession. In a chronicle tradition so deeply concerned with emphasising Scottish royal legitimacy, the introduction of a bastard birth is perplexing. The break is only partial – illegitimate birth disrupts the family line rather than severing it – but is nonetheless troubling.[128] Its usefulness is that it presents the opportunity for Wyntoun to link King Malcolm with the ordinary people of Scotland, emblematised by the Miller himself and thus further demonstrating a deeper link with the land itself, as symbolised by the grain-harvest.[129] Beyond this, the mill itself is the 'myll/ Off Fortewyot' (1620–1), Fortewyot being the reputed burial-place of the previous Scottish founder-figure, Kenneth MacAlpin.[130]

This episode thus serves several purposes. First, to distance Malcolm from Macbeth, who traitorously killed Duncan. The second purpose is less clear, but evident in Wyntoun's insistence

[127] The introduction to the episode, that Duncan 'apon a day' went 'huntyng' (VI 1633, 1634), is reminiscent of the chance-driven plot of romance literature, and the liminal space of the forest where supernatural or fated encounters can occur. 'In to þe bed with hir he lay,/ And gat a sone on hir or day,/ That callit wes Malcome Canmore,/ Thare efter crovnit king par for' (VI 1667–70); Purdie, 'Malcolm [...] and the Miller', p. 55.
[128] Purdie, 'Malcolm […] and the Miller', p. 52.
[129] Purdie, 'Malcolm […] and the Miller', p. 54.
[130] Purdie, 'Malcolm […] and the Miller', p. 54.

on relating Malcolm and Margaret's future children back to the Miller of Foretwyot as he insists that the Empress Matilda is directly descended from his Scottish Miller:

> Syne be generacion,
> And lynyal succession,
> Fra þat myllar discendande
> Dame Mawolde þe Emprice qwil liffande
> Wes bot in þe ferd degre,
> Þe stok noucht reknyt for to be. (VI 1701–6)

The third is to create a pseudo-Arthurian birth story for Malcolm that locates his conception within a romance-type world of supernatural and predestined events, thus shrouding Malcolm himself in a pseudo-Arthurian mythos. Furthermore, Margaret comes to Scotland 'of happynnynge' (VI 2499). '[H]appynnynge' occupies the semantic space between chance and fate, and creates a sense of predestination, replacing the providence-based guiding hand of God in Fordun and Bower while still maintaining that Scotland's rightful ruling line was placed on the throne by a supernatural force.[131] Macpherson suggests that Wyntoun is 'rational' and frees history from the 'mist of fable under which Hector [Boece] had buried it', and yet a lot of the material on Malcolm seems to be surrounded by exactly this kind of mist.[132] This myth and fable is, furthermore, largely directed away from Margaret. Apart from the translation of her relics, not a single episode connected with Margaret's own personal tradition is included. Her specific acts of charity, the miracle of her gospel-book, and the reported visions and miracles of Margaret after her death are all omitted, and instead it is to Malcolm that Wyntoun applies the illusion of supernatural and semi-mythic founder.

Wyntoun does relate Margaret's arrival in Scotland, but the point at which Wyntoun's deliberate minimisation of Margaret's role becomes most obvious in the episode he relates in which Malcolm challenges a traitor who is trying to kill him. This episode first appears in the

131 Purdie, 'Malcolm […] and the Miller', p. 55.
132 Macpherson, 'Preface', p. xxi. Though this is an odd statement to make, since Boece was writing after Wyntoun.

Dunfermline version of Margaret's *Vita*.[133] From his apparent source, compiled in a book that calls itself 'The Book of Margaret of Dunfermline', Wyntoun chooses only a story about Malcolm.[134] This event is recontextualised so that it does not reflect Malcolm's deserving of his pious wife, but rather describes and emblematises his noble and knightly kingship.

Wyntoun does include the story of Margaret's translation, a story that links Margaret's importance as a saint both to her husband Malcolm and to the nation of Scotland itself, but he does not dwell as heavily on this episode as Bower does:

> [Sancte Mergretis] body a hundyr ȝhere
> Lay befor the Rude alteyr
> In to þe kyrk of Dunfermlyne;
> Bot scho was translatid syne
> In to þe qweyr, qwhar scho now lyis,
> Hir spirit in til Paradysse. (VII 359–64)

Margaret's translation is related briefly and succinctly, and appears to be an account of the 1180 translation, which is omitted in Bower. 'The story emphasizes Margaret's sanctity and places the perception of her holiness firmly within the context of her marriage and, by extension, the Scottish nation', drastically reducing her role relative to Malcolm's.[135]

We get no sense of Margaret as an individual from Wyntoun. While Malcolm emerges as a powerful personality, Bower's stern mother and fearless defender of Scotland does not appear in Wyntoun. Furthermore, Margaret as model queen is of no interest to Wyntoun. It is Margaret's role as dynastic mother that matters to him, and this is most significant when combined with Malcolm: they are founders of a new dynasty which is simultaneously noble and rooted in the blood of the common people of Scotland. For Wyntoun, Malcolm is the more powerful political icon. His importance as worthy ancestor in the line of succession that stands unbroken between

133 The 'Dunfermline' *Vita*, ed. by Keene in *St Margaret*, pp. 173–6.
134 The Malcolm and the traitor episode is VII 21–112.
135 Coll-Smith, 'Chronicle to Liturgy', p. 151.

him and the current king is supplemented by his marriage to Margaret, not dependent upon it. Margaret's role is diminished from dominant, reforming wife in Turgot's *Vita*, and powerful political icon in Bower, to that of a virtuous and deferential wife, and adjunct to Malcolm's own virtue and dignity.

The Short Scottish Prose Chronicles

Margaret also appears in a number of short prose chronicles. These chronicles were based on the 'core' historiographical tradition (Fordun and Bower), and adapted to respond to events contemporary to their writing.[136] There are seven surviving short Scottish prose chronicles from this period: *La Vriae Cronicque d'Escoce* (post-1463), *The Scottis Originale* (post-1482), *The Chronicle of the Scots* (1460–1533), *The Ynglis Chronicle* (post-1485), *Nomina Omnium Regum Scottorum* (the Latin *Brevis*) (post-1437), *The Brevis Cronica* (1513), and *The St Andrews Chronicle* (post-1526).[137] Of these, Margaret appears in five: *La Vraie Cronicque d'Escoce*, *The Scottis Originale*, *The Chronicle of the Scots*, *The Brevis Cronica*, and *Nomina Omium Regum Scottorum*. Written to supplement the lengthy histories of Bower, Boece and Bellenden, these short histories were intended for a much wider audience, including those not able to read for themselves.[138] From this, we can see what was considered significant to be extracted and emphasised for a wider public audience. Some of these chronicles are in Latin and some in the vernacular. Those writing in Scots were undoubtedly aiming to reach a wider audience than those who wrote in Latin, though this might be more accurately described as a *more immediate* audience.[139] Latin had the authority of being the language of record, and positioned the text as part of a pan-European clerical, ecclesiastical and intellectual conversation of texts. This meant that writing in Latin ensured status and authority,

136 Kennedy, 'Introduction', p. 1.
137 For a full discussion of the dating of these chronicles, see Embree, 'Introduction', in *Short Scottish Prose Chronicles*, pp. 27–79. For more detailed dating of the *Brevis Cronica*, see Wingfield, *Trojan Legend*, p. 45. Wingfield outlines the three extant versions of the *Brevis Cronica*, varying in end date from 1388–1513, but based on a common source.
138 Kennedy, 'Introduction', p. 25.
139 Kennedy, 'Introduction', p. 15.

rather than breadth of readership. Writing in the vernacular was intended to reach a wide audience of contemporary readers – those whose political beliefs and actions might have immediate effect – while the aims of Latin texts were to add to and influence the long-term historical record. Vernacularity thus implies a more immediate political aim to the text.

Margaret's enduring significance is clear from the fact that she is retained in five out of seven short chronicles. The only queen who appears in as many is her daughter Matilda, queen of Henry I, and the only female figure that is given more attention in the chronicles than Margaret is Scota herself. While Scota marks the establishment of the Scottish race, Margaret marks the point where the lines of the Scottish and English kings were joined and is the founding mother of the new dynasty of Scotland.

The heavily genealogical nature of the short chronicles is evidence of the importance of bloodlines and racial ideas of 'Scottishness' to those writing history from the fourteenth century onwards. Many of the short chronicles are structured genealogically, following the reign of each king and tracing the connections between them. Genealogies had a generalised political function, being a form of legitimisation for noble, and particularly royal, families, but were also more specifically politically important to Scotland, since Scotland's claim to independence, as pressed by Baldred Bisset in his appeal to the Pope in 1301, was based on the argument that Scotland had had an unbroken line of kings for thousands of years.[140] The genealogy of Scottish kings therefore takes on a special significance in legitimating not only the line but the nation itself. This is further compounded and complicated by the introduction of Margaret into this line, through whom the Scottish royal line are not only heirs by hereditary right to the kingdom of Scotland, but also to the kingdom of England. 'The argument that Margaret was the true heiress of the

[140] Goldstein, 'Baldred Bisset', accessed 22.06.16. Kennedy 'Antiquity', pp. 159–74.

English throne reinforced the status of Scotland as an independent kingdom: it had been used by the Scots at Bamburgh in 1321 to refute English claims to overlordship of Scotland,' and it is repeated and widely disseminated by the short chronicles, whose authors seemed to have had a deep political interest in doing so.[141]

The *Nomina Regum Scottorum* is, in the earlier years, very much like a king-list with only a little detail on each reign before the time of Edward I of England. It nonetheless includes the detail of Margaret's death and her sanctity: 'gloriosa illa ac omni tempore recolenda Regina Margareta, quarto die sequenti, perceptis in ecclesia sacramentis ecclesiasticis, animam sanctam celo redditit etc'.[142] The significance of the *Nomina*'s focus on Margaret's sanctity (for that is what focus on her death implies) rather than on her genealogical role, suggests an interest in purely Scottish affairs. Margaret's Anglo-Saxon royal lineage is not dwelt upon as it is in the more internationally- and politically-oriented short chronicles that aim to construct an argument for Scottish powers in England. Instead, the *Nomina* is a record of Scottish kings; Margaret's sanctity is relevant to her sons and her husband – Scottish kings – and is therefore the element that is included.

In *The Chronicle of the Scots*, Margaret appears simply in a genealogy that lists her as Malcolm's wife and gives the names of their sons.[143] The Chronicle itself is very brief, giving only the date, the names of kings and the barest account of happenings. This too appears to be related to the Scottish tradition of king-lists. Even before Edward I tried to bring Scotland under his overlordship, Scottish king-lists were an important part of historical record. Written king-lists

[141] Kennedy, 'Introduction', p. 31.
[142] 'and that glorious Queen Margaret, who is honoured in all ages, four days later received the ecclesiastical sacraments in church and gave back her holy spirit to heaven, etc', p. 200–1.
[143] p. 138.

appear from the late thirteenth century, and were apparently preserved orally before this.[144] Evidence of the survival of this tradition appears in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, in the episode of Alexander III's inauguration, as he describes the recitation of Alexander's heritage. Genealogical chronicles of this kind played a crucial role in justifying the legitimacy of royal lines and '[providing] security to ruling families'.[145] Margaret was, by the fifteenth century, absorbed as an important figure in this established tradition and was commonly used to commemorate and consolidate the ruling line by adding her own distinguished ancestry. Margaret may even have been consciously included and emphasised in genealogical chronicles because, through her English lineage, she provided a potential link back to that other mythic British founder, Brutus.

The *Vraie Chronique d'Escoce* is far more explicit in this matter, asserting not only Margaret's strong connection to the English throne but also her sons' hereditary rights to it. It even states that it will only begin its detailed genealogy of Scottish succession from Malcolm and Margaret, since they are the most significant figures.[146] The *Vraie Chronique* has a unique political interest in this. Written from a French perspective, with French interests at heart, the *Vraie Chronique* is invested in encouraging its traditional Scottish allies to claim overlordship over their shared traditional English enemies.[147] Margaret is a fitting figure for this, being an Anglo-Saxon princess turned Queen of Scots. But, moreover, Margaret's relative Frenchness has been a matter of debate. Kennedy has claimed that Anglo-Norman was the language of the court under Malcolm III, but it is unclear on what basis this claim is made.[148] I have discussed in a previous chapter the possible languages Margaret would have spoken, but in Barbour's *Bruce*, which I will discuss more fully below, Margaret appears speaking French. The *Vraie Chronique* is explicit in its support of Margaret's sons' right to the English throne:

144 Kennedy, 'Antiquity', p. 160.
145 Kennedy, 'Antiquity', p. 159.
146 pp. 88–9.
147 Kennedy, 'Introduction', p. 2.
148 Kennedy, 'Introduction', p. 4.

> je me suis enhardy de seulement reciter les noms des roys qui ont esté depuis le roy Macolin, fils de Dumkelm; lequel Macolin espousa Saincte Margarite d'Escose, a cause de laquelle les roys d'Escoce pretendent jusquez au jour dhuy avoir droit en la couronne d'Angleterre et icelle leur devoir appartenir.[149]

It also presents a doctored bloodline to construct an unbroken line of kings beginning with Malcolm and Margaret and rooted in the Anglo-Saxon kings, making sure to reiterate explicitly their right to the English throne:

> Et au regart dudit Edouart, il fut marié a la niepce de l'Empereur, dont issy Edgar Elinger et Saincte Margarite d'Escoce. Lequel Egar Elinger n'eut aucun enfant legitisme yssant de sa char dont il soit memoire, par quoy appert clerement que toute la succession dudit Emond Irenside, roy d'Angleterre, appartenoit de plain droit a Saincte Margarite, suer dudit Egar Elinger et femme du roy Macolin d'Escoce, desquelz Macolin et Saincte Margarite tous les roys d'Escoce jusquez aujour dhuy sont descendus en droite ligne de par pere ou de par mere. Et par ce moyen semble que selon raison, le royame et la couronnne d'Angleterre compettent et appartiennent et doivent competter et appartenir au roy d'Escoce.[150]

More flagrant manipulation of the genealogical line takes place in the *Brevis Cronica*. This account states that '[t]his Malcolm mariit þe blissit Margaret, douchter to þe King of Yngland'.[151] While this might have been considered genealogical 'truth', Margaret's father Edward the Exile was never king, and the king to whom Margaret is most frequently genealogically linked, Edward the Confessor, was only the half-brother of her grandfather Edward Ironside. The *Brevis Cronica's* simplification of both the complexities of the Anglo-Saxon royal family and the post-Conquest political situation in England serves to offer a single simple truth: that Margaret is the heir to the Kingdom of England, and therefore so are her sons with Malcolm. The Scottish royal family is further simplified into a single genealogical line by the description of Duncan II, Malcolm's son

[149] 'I have risked listing only the name of kings since King Malcolm, son of Duncan, who married St Margaret of Scotland, from whom the kings of Scotland claim a right to the crown of England, and that it should belong to them, up to the present day', p. 88–9.
[150] 'And as for Edward, he married the emperor's niece, and produced Edgar Atheling and St Margaret of Scotland. Edgar Atheling had no known legitimate heir of his body, so it is clear that the whole inheritance of Edmund Ironside, King of England, belonged in all justice to St Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, and wife of King Malcolm of Scotland: all the kings of Scotland to this day have descended in direct paternal and maternal line from Malcolm and St Margaret. And by this means it appears that the kingdom and crown of England rightfully belong, and should rightfully belong, to the King of Scotland', p. 90–1.
[151] p. 201.

with his first wife Ingeborg, as 'bastarde sone to Malcolme Cammore'.[152] This splicing of the family line and dismissal of rival sons from a previous (or simultaneous) marriage is reminiscent of the *Encomium Emmae*'s much-discussed fictive assertion that Emma's sons with Æthelred were the biological sons of Cnut, and that Harald, the son of Cnut's first wife Ælfgifu of Northampton, was the child of an unnamed concubine ('concubinae'), and whose children were explicitly illegitimate and had no right to the throne.[153] The *Brevis Cronica* undertakes the same kind of family-centred propaganda, heavily invested in asserting the legitimacy of a particular line, and creating the fiction that succession has been smooth and that there are no 'loose ends' who might challenge the royal family.

What is evident from the collective evidence of the short prose chronicles is Margaret's key importance as the founding mother of a new dynasty of Scottish kings. These chronicles show that, just as her devotional cult continued to grow after her death, so did her political valence as a symbol for those who believed that her sons were heirs to the English throne. Furthermore, the almost complete excision of devotional material and details of Margaret's miracles and saintly life show a divergence in representations of Margaret from her earlier *Lives* and the *Miracula*. We see the beginnings of this in the fictionalised genealogy of Turgot's *Vita* that links Margaret to Emma of Normandy's father Richard, and the expanded genealogy and king-list of the Dunfermline manuscript. The synthesis of Margaret the saint and Margaret the queen that Turgot, the Dunfermline interpolator and Bower all make extensive political use of is absent

[152] p. 200.

[153] See Tyler, 'Fictions of Family', pp. 149–79. *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Alistair Campbell and Simon Keynes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. Book III, pp. 38–53. Interesting to note is that Donald, Malcolm's brother, seems to have campaigned for the throne himself on the basis that Malcolm and Margaret's children were half-foreigners. This was probably just a political manoeuvre, rather than one based on any real perception of racial difference, but it does shed some light on the complex manipulation of family lines that supported each individual claim to the throne. For further discussion of this, see Catherine Keene, 'Envisioning a Saint: Visions in the Miracles of Saint Margaret of Scotland', in *Reading Memory and Identity in the Texts of Medieval European Holy Women*, ed. by Margaret Cotter-Lynch and Brad Herzog (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 57–80, (p. 66).

here. As in Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*, Margaret is far more queen than saint.[154] Her role is purely political and uniformly put to use to support Scottish independence, and the sovereign rights of her sons and their descendants.

Barbour's *Bruce*

Margaret appears only briefly in John Barbour's 1375 verse biography of Robert the Bruce.[155] We might expect her to have more prominence in such a nationalistic text, especially since Robert the Bruce himself cultivated a connection with Margaret and her dynasty which extended to having his body buried at Dunfermline Abbey to lie alongside Margaret and her descendants, but while Robert himself clearly saw Margaret and her dynasty as an important legitimating tool, she does not feature as such in Barbour's *Bruce*.[156] She appears only in a single episode in which she is not linked to Bruce himself, but rather to the divine defence of Scotland. It might seem reasonable to suggest that Margaret is sidelined on account of hostility to the English in Barbour's account, but Margaret is, in fact, depicted speaking French, making this particular representation of her complex and confusing, troubling her identity with conflicting signs.

'Sanct Margaret ye gud haly quene' (X 742) appears to Bruce and his men to convey a message via a vision 'throw reweling/ Off him yat knawis and wate all thing' (X 743–4).[157] As with the Battle of Largs episode in the *Scotichronicon*, Margaret is associated with divine revelation, and

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154 These short chronicles survive, in places, in manuscripts alongside Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle*. See Wingfield, *Trojan Legend*, pp. 44–5.

155 For discussion of this kind of 'chivalric biography' and the generic ambiguity of the *Bruce* see Chris Given-Wilson, 'Chivalric Biography and Medieval Life-Writing', pp. 101–17, and Rhiannon Purdie, 'Medieval Romance and the Generic Frictions of Barbour's *Bruce*', pp. 51–74, both in *Barbour's* Bruce *and its Cultural Contexts: Politics, Chivalry and Literature in Late Medieval Scotland*, ed. by Steve Boardman and Susan Foran (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015).

156 Robert the Bruce apparently stated that he wanted to be buried among his 'predecessors' at Dunfermline. Steve Boardman, 'Dunfermline as a Royal Mausoleum', in *Royal Dunfermline*, ed. by Richard Fawcett (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: 2005), pp. 139–50, (p. 144). His heart was buried separately at Melrose Abbey.

157 John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. by Matthew P. McDiarmid and James A.C. Stevenson, 3 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 1980–5). All subsequent references are to this edition.

divine intervention in the protection of Scotland. The vision Margaret brings shows her in her chapel writing the words 'Gardys wous de Francais' (X 752) alongside a picture of a man putting a ladder up to the castle wall. Despite initial confusion (no doubt complicated by Margaret's message being given in French), 'Francais' does not indicate the French, but rather a man named Francois, and through Margaret's message, Bruce's men protect themselves and their nation from disaster.

Margaret's appearance in a vision suggests once again that she is a kind of divine intercessor on behalf of Scotland, expressing and communicating God's special favour for and protection of the nation. However, this is complicated by the representation of a French-speaking Margaret.[158] Barbour drew on French sources, and the language of the *Bruce* is littered with French borrowings.[159] Likewise, as I have discussed above, France and Scotland had a long-standing political sympathy. Having Margaret speak in French marks her as foreign, but belonging to an allegiant nation. At a time when the divide between Englishman and Scotsman was a question of allegiance – the Scots with Robert I, the English with Edward II – to present Margaret as even partially English would place her on the wrong side of the conflict described in the *Bruce*.[160]

While this may well be an attempt to distance Margaret from her English heritage in the anti-English *Bruce*, it also distances her from the Scots that she is acting to protect. Though she clearly acts on behalf of Scotland, Barbour's inclusion of a foreign language in a Scots vernacular

[158] Wyntoun represents Edward I speaking in French in his *Original Chronicle*. Steve Boardman suggests that this is to reflect Edward's 'haughty and tyrannical lordship' and construct him as Other. Wyntoun does not do this with Margaret, and the case with Margaret in Barbour appears to be more complex than this. See Steve Boardman, 'A People Divided? Language, History and Anglo-Scottish Conflicts in the Work of Andrew of Wyntoun', in *Ireland and the English World in the Late Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Robin Frame*, ed. by Brendan Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 112–29 (p. 121).
[159] John Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. by A.A.M. Duncan (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997), p. 4.
[160] Dauvit Broun, 'Rethinking Scottish Origins', in *Barbour's* Bruce, pp. 163–190, (p. 164). This is especially interesting given twentieth-century historical perception of Margaret as a Normanising influence. See Chapter 2, p. 100.

chronicle marks Margaret as Other. Though she is on the side of the Scottish, she herself is marked as non-native in a way that does not appear in any other chronicle version. So though Margaret may well have spoken French in her lifetime, she is never elsewhere depicted as speaking French, nor being particularly French or Norman.[161] Here, Margaret is a malleable sign, a canvas onto which politically useful messages can be projected. The message here – that God protects Scotland from harm through its queen-made-saint – is troubled by Margaret's conspicuous foreignness. It also conflicts with the choice that Robert the Bruce made in his lifetime to align himself with Margaret and her dynasty. Clearly, Barbour was uncomfortable adopting the Anglo-Saxon queen whom others, such as Bower and Bruce himself, had readily appropriated as a symbol of Scottish national independence. Even in this context, Margaret is inextricable from her political role and political significance, and sidelined and made oddly French because of what the involvement of a half-Anglo-Saxon saint-queen might imply politically within the text.

Conclusion

It is in the chronicles that we see the most openly politicised representation of Margaret. In all of the accounts, from Fordun and Bower to the short chronicles and Barbour, Margaret's sainthood is de-emphasised in favour of or in subordination to her role as queen and dynastic progenitor. We are reminded that Margaret is a saint, but only to invoke God's support of Scotland as an independent nation. Margaret's miracles and her acts of charity in her lifetime are minimised in favour of the politically significant details of her life: her link with the English throne, her sons, her appearance in visions at times of international conflict in order to express God's support of Scotland. Even in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, by far the most comprehensive picture of Margaret, the

[161] For a discussion of multilingual queens see Chapter 1, p. 47.

anecdotal details that appear in Turgot's *Vita* are left out, and far less emphasis is placed on Margaret the woman and Margaret the saint, in favour of Margaret the queen.

Margaret marks a new phase not just in the Scottish political pattern, where she forms a new point of origin, but in queenship. Margaret apparently brought the idea of a sovereign queen to Scotland; it is probable that she was the first consecrated Queen of Scots, her predecessors being only wives of the King of Scots. Certainly, Margaret is the first wife of a king in Scotland known to have been given the designation 'regina'. Macbeth's wife Gruoch is also called this, but only in a much later register.[162] But Margaret also appears to be a watershed in the representation of queens. Before Margaret, the only queen – or indeed, woman – who gets any kind of significant mention in any of the chronicles is Scota. Even the wife of Macbeth, made so famous later by Shakespeare, appears only as a name without real significance. Certainly for Bower, Margaret embodies ideal queenship, and other queens are either good queens in her pattern (such as her daughter, Matilda), or bad in their deviation from it.

In general, however, in the Older Scots chronicle tradition, there is a shift of focus from Margaret to Malcolm. The Corpus Christi manuscript of Bower's *Scotichronicon* features illustrations of Gaythelos and Scota, Malcolm and Macduff, Alexander III's inauguration, Alexander III's funeral and the Battle of Bannockburn, but not of Margaret. In passages derived from Turgot's *Vita*, then Margaret's role is downplayed, and Malcolm's is emphasised. It is even evident, as with Wyntoun, that some chroniclers read the Dunfermline *Miracula* and *Vita* and chose for their chronicle only details concerning Malcolm, even from those two Margaret-centric texts. Largely written in Scotland for a Scottish audience – in Bower's case, explicitly so – these choices reflect the stated readership, and a strong nationalistic agenda to the chronicle writing.

[162] Jessica Nelson, 'Scottish Queenship in the Thirteenth Century', *Thirteenth Century England*, 11 (2005), 61–81, (p. 63).

The details of Margaret's life and her acts as queen during lifetime might be minimised, but Margaret's enduring significance is borne out by her continued and repeated appearance throughout the chronicle tradition, both as a Scottish national patron and as a symbol – a new founding mother, representing God's favour and embodying the right of Scottish kings descended from her both to independent sovereignty over their own nation, and potentially also to the English throne. She even replaces Scota as the point of origin.[163] Being both a saint and the mother of many kings remembered well in the historical record, Margaret makes a much more concrete and attractive political figure to fix that point to, and seems to endure as such a symbol even to the extent that she was depicted on the banners carried by the Scottish into the Battle of Flodden in 1513.

[163] For everyone apart from Wyntoun, who perplexingly makes his fictional Miller the new point of origin for that dynasty.

Conclusion

The changing literary representation of St Margaret of Scotland in the four centuries covered by this thesis reveals a rich and multivalent tradition that weaves and re-weaves politics and sanctity. This often underpinned a discourse of royal legitimacy in which Margaret's sanctity was used as shorthand for God's approval of the kings and queens who traced their lineage back to her. She was also a model for rulers both male and female, her sanctity functioning as a further articulation of her perfection. The work undertaken by her literary representation is therefore ethical as well as political.

St Margaret of Scotland has frequently been overlooked in favour of, or conflated with, her namesake St Margaret of Antioch.[1] She has been dismissed by historians of Scotland as an implausible fiction, an impossible dream of active queenship, or one who is too '[obscured by] clouds of incense' to be of any interest.[2] It might, indeed, be impossible to penetrate these clouds through recourse to historical fact, but much can be learned about medieval attitudes to politically active women, and especially queens, from the way in which Margaret is presented. The picture painted by twentieth-century historians of Margaret is coloured, too, by modern stereotypes of undesirable female behaviour. She is accused of being an 'imperious bully […] worthy of a twentieth-century politician with a handbag' in a criticism all-too-memorably applied to another politically powerful Margaret.[3] The twentieth-century historian's picture of 'a somewhat severe lady, who checked mirth at court and dominated her husband' takes no

[1] There is even some evidence that this slippage occurred among those who claimed descent from Margaret. Most notably, James IV is recorded as making dedications to St Margaret of Antioch in 1496 and 1497, but to Margaret of Scotland much more frequently and regularly between the years of 1497 and 1512. Given that the 1497 dedication to St Margaret of Antioch was made in St Margaret (of Scotland)'s Chapel in Edinburgh Castle, it seems reasonable to believe there might have been some slippage or confusion at play. Database of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland online <http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/> accessed 08.12.15.
[2] R.L. Græme Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1954), p. 399.
[3] Alan Macquarrie, *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History, AD 450–1093* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997), p. 214.

account of genre, literary precedent or the political climate in which Margaret's *Vita* was written.[4] Only in the last few years has historical study of Margaret begun to examine textual representations of Margaret with full awareness of the contexts of their production. As the first literary study of medieval representations of Margaret of Scotland, this thesis synthesises recent historical developments in the understanding of Margaret with literary analysis in order to understand Margaret's literary representation within its wider historical and political context.

The sparse evidence of Margaret's own book-ownership and literate practice offers a sketchy but intriguing picture of Margaret's relation to texts and textual practice in her lifetime. The evidence is of a pious individual who exercised what influence she found available to her as a woman and queen in the form of book patronage – the gift of the *textus argenteus* to Durham Cathedral – and the cultivation of a spiritual friendship with Archbishop Lanfranc. Margaret may have been the first Queen of Scots to behave in this manner, but she was not the first queen in her extended family to do so. Her predecessors Emma of Normandy and Edith of Wessex provided both pattern and precedent for Margaret as to how a well-educated queen might make herself not only influential but actually powerful in a sphere almost entirely dominated by men.

This example is one that Margaret's daughter Matilda evidently took to heart, and nowhere is there a clearer articulation of it than in her commissioning of her mother's *Vita*. Though mediated through the Latin words of a male churchman, Turgot's *Vita* offers us a model queen who exerts authority not just over her half-heathen husband, but also over the Scotland's Church leaders. The models might be biblical – Esther, Mary at the feet of Christ – or saintly – St Helena – but the message is just as secular as it is spiritual. A pious woman supported by Scripture and the Church can wield real power; a wise king listens to the counsel of his queen in matters of

[4] Gordon Donaldson and Robert Morpeth, *Who's Who in Scottish History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973), p. 5.

both Church and state. Malcolm acts well when he follows Margaret's guidance in reforming the Scottish Church, and acts poorly – causing his own death, and that of their eldest son – when he ignores Margaret's pleas not to invade Northumbria. That Margaret is immediately put to use as a political figure is evident from how these fictional events map onto Matilda's own life. Like her mother, Matilda was a descendent of the Anglo-Saxon royal line who married a king whose succession had been somewhat troubled. Like her mother in the *Vita*, Matilda was active in both secular and church affairs. The *Vita* is not simply an instruction manual for Matilda on how to be a perfect queen. It played the dual roles of providing a precedent – whether fictional or reported – for Matilda's active queenship and legitimating the royal line currently in power by presenting Matilda as natural heir to a long line of Anglo-Norman rulers. The politics of Margaret's sainthood in the *Vita* are both familial and national: they rebalance the scales of power in favour of the wife in a royal marriage, and anchor that marriage to a God-ordained line of rightful kings.

Against the same political backdrop, the early English chroniclers show a different Margaret: a queen who, though virtuous, is no saint. The Margaret of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* dispenses treasure and advice like the queens of Old English poetry, and is conspicuously powerful and wealthy. She acts in conjunction with Malcolm rather than leading him as she does in the *Vita* and, certainly for the Northern D-version of the *ASC*, Malcolm and Margaret's court becomes a potential site of anti-Norman resistance. The Latin chroniclers writing during her daughter's reign – Ælred of Rievaulx, William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis and Eadmer – present Margaret as a virtuous Anglo-Saxon queen, significant for what she passed on to her son, the future David I, and her daughter Matilda. She is the last of the Anglo-Saxon royal line: a remnant of the Anglo-Saxon past in the Anglo-Norman present. She is an ideal and idealised queen but she is never a saint. It is in this period, too, that we get the only unequivocal statement of Margaret's natural inferiority as woman: the Laurencekirk foundation legend, in which Margaret

is struck down with debilitating pain for daring to enter a church intended for men only. While in the *Vita* Margaret's authority is only subject to that of God and Scripture, in these chronicles Margaret is limited by her worldly station. She is very much a queen of the world struggling to preserve herself and her family in a post-Conquest Britain. She is a pious but ultimately ordinary woman who is punished for overstepping her place.

It is with the production of the fifteenth-century Dunfermline manuscript that literary representation of Margaret shifts firmly from Anglo-Saxon princess to Queen of Scots and Scottish saint. In the book that simultaneously claims ownership of her as 'Margaret of Dunfermline' and dedicates itself to her as patron of its home foundation, the *Vita* that once served the political interests of her daughter Matilda is expanded and embellished to ennoble to Scottish royal line. Margaret is made the embodied articulation of the Scottish kings' place in God's wider plan of salvation history. My analysis of the manuscript – the first to consider Biblioteca Real, MS II 2097 as a 'whole book' – has revealed how compiling Margaret's *Vita* and *Miracula* alongside a regnal list of Scottish kings, chronicle fragments and devotional material places her at the centre of a complex web of significances that binds the Scottish royal family and monastic life at Dunfermline. Margaret binds the state to the Church in the same way that the royal mausoleum at Dunfermline binds religious devotion to Margaret to the Scottish state. Margaret brings together two powerful royal lines and ensures a dynastic future. All of these are roles expected of queens to an extent, but taken to the extremes of perfection by Margaret. The Dunfermline manuscript is both a devotional miscellany and a piece of political propaganda carefully constructed to present James III as the direct descendant of Margaret and Scotland as an independent nation with its own distinguished line of kings from the beginning of recorded history. Margaret's role as saint implies that papal sanction should also fall on the Scottish kings who, in the thirteenth century, were moving to be recognised with rights of unction, placing them on the same level as the other kings of Europe. That Margaret was just as politically useful

in the fifteenth century as the thirteenth is clearly demonstrated by this manuscript. We, see, too, the localisation of this power at Dunfermline, the site of her shrine and the burial place of Scottish kings.

In the Older Scots chronicle tradition, literary representation of Margaret bifurcates along the Latin/vernacular, ecclesiastical/secular fault line. Bower's classicising Latin history makes Margaret emblematic of Scotland's important political place within Europe and a symbol of an ideal rule that seamlessly unites church and state. For Wyntoun and Barbour, Margaret is only genealogically relevant and potentially troublingly foreign. Her Anglo-Saxon family and her Hungarian upbringing appear to be no barrier to Margaret becoming something of a metonym for the Scottish nation itself for Bower. Margaret, the English princess, is woven into Bower's deeply Anglophobic chronicle as a symbol of the sacred and Church-sanctioned nature of Scottish kingship. For Bower, Margaret is a second origin point, a mythic founder who mirrors the ancient pagan founding-mother Scota but refigures that role in a manner that binds Church and state in a perfect synthesis that communicates both the essentiality of royal piety and the sacred nature of Scottish kingship. Margaret embodies a covalent bond between ecclesiastical authority and secular sovereignty, making the two inseparable. She is model and metonym for an ideal rulership that both legitimises Scottish independent rule and empowers the Church. By now, Margaret is no longer a model that offers power to women. Though anecdotes from Turgot's *Vita* survive that show Malcom bringing Margaret books, Bower makes it clear that though Margaret is a canonised saint, as Queen of Scots she must cede authority to her king. Margaret is an anomaly among women in Bower's chronicle, the only woman besides St Bridget of Sweden about whom Bower is unambiguously positive. After her lifetime she recurs, but predominantly as a dynastic symbol. In the vernacular chronicles of Wyntoun and Barbour, Margaret is devoid of any individuality, and bears almost no resemblance to the Margaret of the *Vita*. Wyntoun's Margaret is a pious addendum to Malcolm, a distant saint, and a mother of

Scottish kings. For Barbour, she is a somewhat obtuse and distinctly foreign saint who nonetheless acts in the sole interest of Scotland.

These texts bear witness to the fact that literary representation of Margaret did not simply divide along the Anglo-Scottish border. Northern English sources, most notably the *Genealogia* of Ælred of Rievaulx, were being used as sources by Scottish writers up into the fifteenth century. The parallels offered for Margaret's sainthood likewise traverse this border; Margaret is most commonly likened to Edward the Confessor in her role as royal saint and St Ninian in her religious reform and freeing of slaves. Examination of the literary Margaret demonstrates that the relationship between English and Scottish texts was not purely 'dialogic'; texts crossed the border from England throughout the medieval period and were readily absorbed into Scottish literary culture.[5] This is particularly pronounced in the North of England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when it is possible to trace the influence of the Scottish court. Like Margaret herself, these texts bridge the Anglo-Scottish border and speak more of a complex textual and political world than one of Anglo-Scottish antipathy. Just as Malcolm and Margaret's court was more anglicised than that of Malcolm's predecessors, these texts bear witness to a permeable border across which political and literary ideas were freely exchanged, resulting – ultimately – in the wholesale adoption of Margaret as a Scottish national icon by Bower, despite her English heritage.

As we might expect, in the centuries following her death, representation of Margaret shifts from the real to the metaphorical, and accounts move from the anecdotal – shaped as it is by biblical and clerical precedents – to the symbolic. Margaret is certainly subject to the stereotyping of

[5] Katherine H. Terrell, 'Subversive Histories: Strategies of Identity in Scottish Historiography', in *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 153–72, (p. 154).

women that Stafford identifies.[6] It is easier to dismiss this stereotyping when a figure such as Margaret is treated with such unambiguous positivity, but this, too, has meant that any details of her life are seen through the hagiographical lens that even the man who claimed to be her confessor applied to her life. But while the ways in which Margaret is presented are stereotyped and patterned by biblical and clerical precedent, they are far from simplistic. Margaret might be a perfect queen like Esther and Helena, but she is unusual among even royal saints for having been the mother to eight children. Nor is Margaret always represented in a typically feminine role. She appears in the Dunfermline compilation – in one instance – dressed and tonsured like one of her own monks. She leads her husband and sons into battle for Scotland while conspicuously beautiful like a woman and dressed like one, but leading a military manoeuvre like a man. She emerges from a catalogue of compromised and problematic women in Bower's chronicle as a perfect queen.

More widely, throughout the medieval period, from her life until the fifteenth century, Margaret is something of a lightning-rod for ideas of good queenship, and by extension its opposite. Throughout the representation of Margaret, piety and care for the Church are shown to be aspects of good queenship. But as we move from the eleventh and twelfth centuries and out of the period of influence of her daughter Matilda, who was a prodigious literary patron and does seem to have done much to promote her mother specifically and her family in general, we see a decline in representations of Margaret's domestic influence over her husband. Aside from the Laurencekirk foundation legend in which Margaret is explicitly contained by the patriarchal authority of the Church, in the early material Margaret's authority exceeds even that of the churchmen at Scottish Church councils. Margaret's authority over Malcolm is slowly eroded over time. The Dunfermline manuscript begins to ennoble Malcolm as her equal, and by the time

[6] Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997; paperback 2001), p. 18.

Bower writes his *Scotichronicon*, Margaret is literally and symbolically put in her place behind Malcolm in the account of her translation.

While this shift reflects the changing political weighting of these texts from the Anglo-centric to the Scoto-centric, they also reflect their changing patrons. The early texts were patronised by an influential queen (the *Vita* and William of Malmesbury's chronicle), the Dunfermline material was written by and for a male monastic community, and the Older Scots chronicles were all written at the behest of and for a primary audience of – largely lairdly – men. The representation of Margaret in the *Vita* is shaped by accepted biblical, saintly and historical models of ideal queenship, but Margaret is, in turn, quickly absorbed into this pool of model queens, and Matilda is almost immediately represented as following and attempting to exceed her mother's example. Through this we can see the deeply textual nature of queenship – the way that it was both performed according to and circumscribed by texts of every kind. Queenly practice was inextricable from the reading and writing of queens and queenship. Margaret's reading is written into her *Vita*, which in itself is presented as if for her daughter's instructional reading. This pious and formative literacy survives in Bower's representation of Margaret in the fifteenth century, in a chronicle itself (in part) addressed to King James II as a series of models for rulers.

Margaret's literary representation also had a vital real-world role to play in the protection of Scottish sovereignty. Edward I's destruction of Scottish chronicle material during the succession crisis of 1286 to 1292 stands as testament to the political power of the written word. Margaret as Anglo-Saxon princess and saint offered those who wished to write Scottish sovereignty into historical record an irresistible icon who communicated not only God's especial favour for and protection of Scottish kingship but also the potential right her descendants had to the English throne. Her literary representations mirrored the bricks-and-mortar of Dunfermline Abbey and the tombs of her husband and royal descendants to be found alongside her shrine. The same

synthesis of royalty and sainthood made physical in Dunfermline is to be found throughout the representations of Margaret, quickly co-opted from the pro-Anglo-Norman words of Turgot's *Vita* into the powerfully political work of the thirteenth-century compilation that became the first third of the Dunfermline manuscript, which itself became part of Bower's nationalist epic. Since her arrival on Scottish soil at the bay that thereafter bore her name, Margaret has been used by those who wish to write divine legitimacy into the Scottish historical record.

Margaret defies many of the expectations of female sainthood. As well as being a woman of the world who – in several accounts – accumulates and displays a great deal of worldly wealth, and who is mother to eight children, she actively defies the Celtic church. Even in the Laurencekirk foundation legend she is punished only after successfully defying the advice of churchmen. In her own *Vita*, Margaret's defiance of Scottish native Church law is represented as correction. Margaret – along with Malcolm – does appear to have Europeanised the eleventh-century Scottish court. Margaret and Malcolm's reign, and the reign of their son David I following their example, made Scotland a major political player in the European Middle Ages. Other royal saints might have been used politically after their death, but no other insular royal saint is preserved in a *Vita* that made so much of their place in the world.

Margaret is everything a medieval woman should be: pious, devout, modest. She is everything a queen should be: she ennobles the court, she bears royal children (especially sons) to continue the royal line, and she provides a religious foil to her warrior-husband. And yet in spite of – or, perhaps, because of – her obvious perfection in other ways, she does what medieval women must not: she defies her husband, she corrects men of the Church, and she wields power in the form of expensive goods and – in the Battle of Largs miracle – military might, rather than simply working through her influence on others. The multivalent Margaret, who was still preserved – underwritten as she was by male authority – in Bower's *Scotichronicon* four hundred years after her

death, was finally pushed into the background by Knox's reforms of the sixteenth century. The sainthood that made her such a potent and attractive figure for writers in the medieval period now made her troubling and problematic. In the British consciousness now, Margaret is still associated with some of the same issues – female education and religious observance – but is completely stripped of any political significance.

While I have been able to cover every surviving instance of Margaret known to me in the literature of England and Scotland from the eleventh to the fifteenth century in this thesis, there are some areas where this analysis has been limited by time and space. In particular, a full consideration of Margaret's entire *Miracula* was not possible within the limits of this thesis. In terms of broader study, I also believe that both the English and Scottish chronicle material would benefit from a comparative study of the representation of queens and queenship similar to studies previously made of kings and kingship in those areas. Another area that I would have liked to have explored more fully is visual images of women reading and writing, especially – but not limited to – queens across the period. This thesis has shed light on the essentiality of queenly literate practice across national borders and throughout the medieval period. Several excellent historical studies, most notably those of Pauline Stafford and Lois Huneycutt, have begun work on this from a historical perspective, but there remains much to be done in considering the role of queens as readers, patrons and book-owners across the medieval period.

This thesis has been the first to examine the surviving opus of literary and historiographical material about St Margaret of Scotland from her lifetime to the fifteenth century on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border in both Latin and the vernacular. I set out to examine what role Margaret played in these texts, and have demonstrated that she plays a profoundly political and ethical role, intrinsically related to the historical context in which these texts were composed and/or compiled. I have drawn directly on material evidence and independent archival research,

most notably in offering an original consideration of the as-yet-unedited Dunfermline manuscript and the first reading of this manuscript as a 'whole book'. I have offered a series of detailed close readings of the texts in which Margaret is represented, across various genres and four centuries. I have thus offered a comprehensive understanding of Margaret's representation in all of the texts known to me that have concerned her during this period.

For reasons of space it has not been possible within this thesis to cover representations of Margaret beyond the fifteenth-century continuations of Bower. It would be profitable, however, for future work to attend to sixteenth-century instances and beyond. Examples might include the histories of Boece (1527) and his translator Bellenden (1531), both of which mention Margaret in the context of royal legitimacy and succession.[7] Initial research indicates that work on such texts would allow us to consider the role that Margaret played in Scotland's political culture in the reigns of James V onwards. Much work therefore remains to be done in Margaret's representation in the sixteenth century, through to the years running up to and during the reformation, and beyond.

Over the course of this thesis I have, through my study of Margaret, revealed the way in which medieval queenship was constantly being read and written in a mutually re-asserting process whereby queens were encouraged to read 'improving' texts that offered models of ideal queenship, and then, in emulating those models, become models of good queenship themselves. Queenship studies has alluded to the construction of the queenly persona through written

[7] Ryoko Harikae discusses Margaret briefly in her D.Phil thesis, 'John Bellenden's Chronicles of Scotland: Translation and Circulation' (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2010), p. 61. See Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historia*, ed. by Dana F. Sutton (Irvine: University of California, 2010), hypertext edition <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/boece/> and *The Chronicles of Scotland: translation by John Bellenden*, ed. by R. W. Chambers, Walter W. Seton and Edith C. Batho, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1938–41).

examples before, but in this study I have taken a literary approach to demonstrate that queens often actively intervened in their literary representation through recourse to these models and were as aware of their literary representation – and others' literary representation of their queenship – as they were of emulating those behaviours in their actions. St Margaret marks a change in the models offered, being as she is an active queen, wielding real power, and this is evident in how her daughter appears to have used her mother's literary representation. In this thesis I have shown that in Margaret's case the role of queen-saint is more than purely symbolic: unlike other analogues such as the Virgin Mary and St Helena, St Margaret of Scotland was associated with quotidian acts of charity and humility, her example a realistic one for medieval European queens, and her political influence on Scotland – and particularly the Scottish Church – material and tangible in her own time.

There is much work still to be done on the literary representation of queens and queenship, particularly in Scotland, but I would like to offer this thesis as a case-study of ideal medieval queenship, and in particular the political role of the saint-queen as a literary figure, and the saint-queen as an ideal queen. We have much to learn about the writing and reading of medieval queens – and to an extent the two are interdependent. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, what queens read as instructional material was both a source for their behaviour and part of a literary tradition of queenship against which they were measured. The research that I have undertaken here therefore raises wider theoretical questions about life-writing in the medieval period: in a literary tradition so heavily shaped by generic convention and in which women were so consistently stereotyped, we must understand the literary background to life writing in order to fully understand its function and meaning.

In taking a literary approach to the representation of Margaret I have shown how important queens are as figures through which ideas of both the domestic and the national are explored.

Moving outside of the historical work of striving to uncover the "lived experience" of medieval women allows us to see the way that texts about Margaret – and medieval women more widely – were more political than biographical. They reflected ideas of ideal femininity and womanhood, either proscribing certain behaviours (as in the case of Bower) or providing convenient literary precedent for them (in the case of Turgot's *Vita*). Many of these ideas, especially but not exclusively in Margaret's case, are explored through literature and through the representation of literate practice. This is most evident in Matilda of Scotland's commissioning of a Latin *vita* of her mother that represented her mother as a bibliophile. Ideal queenship is, to an extent, synonymous with good reading. This good reading is, in the literature itself, inextricable from reading the Scripture, but Matilda's commission, saint's life though it was, was a text intended to be read and used in the secular world. Queens have been historically under-studied, and Scottish queens have received even less attention than English queens. It is my hope that this thesis will be the beginning of new literary enquiry into the representation of queens and queenship in British – especially Scottish – literature across the Middle Ages.

Understanding Margaret's literary representation allows us to see the way that women used texts to negotiate their roles both in the royal household and within the politics of the state. It also means understanding how texts were used throughout the medieval period as both propaganda and places in which politics could be negotiated, rights could be articulated and claims could be staked which would then translate into the real-world political areana. It means understanding how women were both empowered and contained by the writing and reading of texts. These texts offered women influence and potentially even power, but only through recourse to the patriarchal authority of the Church, male clerics and male-authored Scripture. My aim in this thesis has been not to see through the 'clouds of incense' that obscure the historical Margaret from modern view, but to understand why they are there in the first place – to understand what these 'clouds' themselves might tell us about how different medieval readers and writers on both

sides of the Anglo-Scottish border understood the political role of their queen, within the royal family, nationally and internationally.

Appendix**: Contents of St Margaret's Gospel-book, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. f. 5**

2r Flyleaf poem
2v–3r blank
3v Portrait of St Matthew
4r–13r Readings from St Matthew's gospel:
- 1:1–21 Genealogy (24 December)
- 2:1–12 The Magi (Epiphany)
- 3:13–17 The Baptism (Epiphany)
- 4:1–11 Temptation (Quadragesima)
- 4:18–22 Calling of the Apostles (30th November: St Andrew)
- 20:17–19 Jesus predicts his death (22nd November: St Cecilia)
- 26:2–21:7 Passion (Easter)
- 28:16–20 Post-resurrection commission to Apostles (Feria VI after Easter)

13v Portrait of St Mark
14r–20v Readings from St Mark's gospel:
- 1:1–8 John the Baptist
- 6:17–29 Death of John the Baptist (30th August)
- 14:1–15:46 Passion
- 16:1–7 Marys and Salome at the tomb (10th Sunday after Pentcost)
- 16:14–20 Post-resurrection appearances (Ascension)

21r blank
21v Portrait of St Luke
22r-29v Readings from Luke's gospel
- 1:1–4 Preface to Theophilius
- 1:26–38 Annunciation (25th March)
- 2:1–14 Nativity
- 2:21 Circumcision (1st January)
- 2:22–32 Symeon (2nd February)
- 10:38–42 Mary and Martha (15th August, Blessed Virgin Mary)
- 22:1–23:53 Passion
- 24:1–12 Marys and Peter at the Tomb

30r blank
30v Portrait of St John
31r-37r Reading from St John's Gospel
- 1:1–14 *In Principio* (25th December)
- 14:23–31 Christ's prophecy of his departure and return; his promise of peace (Pentecost)
- 17: 1–11 Christ as witness to men (Vigil for Ascension)
- 18:1–19: 42 Passion
- 20:1–9 Mary, John and Peter at the Tomb

37v-28 blank.

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